

A REVALUATION OF THE ROLES AND FUNCTIONS OF DRAMA  
IN SECONDARY EDUCATION WITH REFERENCE TO A SURVEY  
OF CURRICULAR DRAMA IN 259 SECONDARY SCHOOLS

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## PhD THESIS

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### A B S T R A C T

During the past twenty years drama teaching has been developed as a specialist element in secondary school curricula. This thesis reconsiders the central claims which have been made for this and presents a new model of the roles and functions of dramatic activity relating them to the growing demands for educational accountability. Chapter One provides a general perspective on drama in schools identifying three main phases of development. Chapter Two identifies the major issues in drama teaching now, looking specifically at the notion of individualism and at the apparent antipathies - for example, drama versus theatre, emotion versus intellect - with which it is associated. Chapter Three examines the essential features of dramatic activity: acting-out and social interaction. Chapter Four looks at the relationships in drama and in everyday life between real and symbolic social roles so as to characterise 'acting-out' in more detail. Chapter Five argues a view of knowledge which provides a fundamentally different perspective on many of the key ideas now used by drama teachers, specifically those of individualism, subjectivity and creativity. Chapter Six presents a model of the roles and functions of drama and of theatre in schools looking particularly at 'self-expression' and its relations to symbolic representation in the arts. Chapter Seven argues for new approaches to assessment and evaluation in the light of this and presents a framework for evaluative action. Chapter Eight examines the varying roles of the teacher in drama, relating them to the notion of cultural education. Chapter Nine looks at the roles of drama and theatre in the secondary curriculum as a whole arguing for a broader cultural and political perspective on the arts and education if these are to be realised.

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## INTRODUCTION

### 1 Drama in schools

During the past twenty years, there have been considerable changes in both the practice of, and the provision for, the teaching of drama in secondary schools. Where it was once seen chiefly as part of English teaching, drama is now established in some degree as a curriculum activity in its own right. Throughout the country there are teachers employed in schools as drama specialists working, in some cases, within independent drama departments. Of the 122 local education authorities in the United Kingdom, 60 employ either a drama adviser or an adviser with responsibility for drama. In some authorities - Devon and Northumberland, for example - there are teams of advisory teachers in drama and in some there are maintained drama centres.<sup>1</sup>

The National Association for the Teaching of Drama (NATD) lists 44 local associations of drama teachers from Cleveland to Somerset and Inner London to Clwyd.<sup>2</sup> There are now C.S.E. syllabuses in Drama and/or Theatre Arts and G.C.E. Papers at Ordinary, Ordinary/Alternative and Advanced Level with the Associated Examining Board. Major reports on the curriculum during the 1960's and 1970's, from Newsom (Ministry of Education : 1963) to Bullock (Department of Education and Science : 1975b) have commented on the positive benefits of including drama of one form or another in the school curriculum. For thousands of children in hundreds of schools, drama has become part of the institutional pattern of compulsory education.

Yet, despite the apparent pace of it, the development of drama in schools has not traced a simple upward curve. First, the main increases in provision were during the ten years or so from the mid 1960's to the mid 1970's.<sup>3</sup> Since then, the closures of colleges of education and successive cuts in

educational spending have greatly reduced the numbers of students in drama training and the numbers of jobs available to them. Second, the general climate of educational accountability has challenged some of the basic principles which have been associated with this work. Third, there are, in any case, deep divisions among teachers over fundamental questions concerning both the theory and practice of drama in schools. My general concern in this study is with identifying and pursuing some of these theoretical questions. There are a number of reasons for this.

## 2 The problems of drama

### 2.1 Definition

Drama has come to connote a wide range of activities in schools and this raises difficult problems of definition. At extremes, drama, for some teachers, means acting, the school play and the practice and appreciation of theatre. For others, it has nothing to do with theatre or arts appreciation. They see it rather as a form of self-expression or even therapy. Where some claim that drama is a subject in its own right, others see it principally as a method of teaching. Certainly, while drama has been developed as a specialism, there has also been an increasing use of techniques of role-play, simulation and improvisation in other areas of the curriculum: in social studies, the humanities and in the teaching of English, for example.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, many of the activities of specialist drama lessons have long taken place elsewhere: discussion, writing, physical games, group work and so on.

In addition to this there has been the development outside schools of Theatre-in-Education, Children's Theatre and Youth and Community Theatre.<sup>5</sup> The relations of and between these to school drama is also the subject of dispute. With such considerations in mind, H.M.I. was



prompted to ask in 1968 whether there existed, in the middle of this range of artistic expression, a discipline that can be identified as drama? If not, how do we describe drama? Who is to teach it?<sup>6</sup>

As I hope to show, this question of definition is still pressing. It is not peripheral to an understanding of drama in schools but central to it and to this study. The emphasis here on theory is not due therefore to disinterest in practice. On the contrary, the clarification of practical matters is the underlying concern. There are several reasons for tackling the issues this way round however. Some of these are to do with the general relationship between theory and practice and some to do with questions of provision and of accountability.

## 2.2 Theory and practice

The current literature of drama teaching principally consists of two sorts of book. There are those which describe the authors' own conceptions and practical work within the framework of particular methods.<sup>7</sup> Others comprise general lists of games, exercises, literary extracts and so on to be used as source material.<sup>8</sup> The usual emphasis in both cases, however, is on answering the question, 'How?' Few provide, except in the most general terms, an underlying theoretical rationale for what is done.<sup>9</sup> Yet, for many teachers, the most perplexing questions in drama are really to do with its educational functions. If they are sure that drama has a value, they are still uncertain quite what this value is and have difficulty therefore in articulating it to parents, employers, colleagues and so on.

## 2.3 Methods and methodology

The tendency in the literature to prescribe methods of teaching needs to be questioned in itself.

Different authors have also come to be associated with different 'types' of drama. Certainly they differ as teachers. But then all teachers do. The complex relationships between teachers and groups mean that generalising about the value of this or that method can be unwise. What works for one teacher may be disastrous for another: activities which engage one group may disaffect the next. In the end, the value of teaching methods cannot be properly considered independently of the personal techniques with which they are practised.

The need this suggests is not for methods of teaching drama to be prescribed for teachers to follow but for a critical approach to the whole area of methodology, starting with an analysis of their own practice. Such an analysis, I contend, will draw in complex questions of theory which in the past have been greatly neglected. I do not mean therefore to abandon the real world at schools for a higher realm of abstraction. I hope rather to show that there is an important dialectic here: that, in thinking about theory, I necessarily have practice in mind.

#### 2.4 Back to basic: curriculum accountability

A central problem for teachers is to find a coherent approach to assessing and evaluating drama in schools. This is partly a professional need to improve and develop daily practice - but it is also political - so as to respond positively to the pressures of educational accountability.

The policy of retrenchment in public spending pursued by the last Labour administration has been toughened in the present government's percentage cuts across the whole range of public services. This has added to the pressures on schools to show 'results'. For if successive governments have sought to bring education into

line with general economic policies, parents have also become more anxious about the employment prospects of their children and about the need for vocational qualifications. As youth unemployment continues to rise,<sup>10</sup> it seems likely that the pressures on the curriculum will increase.

Such developments have made clear the political significance of both the content and style of education. They have also led to a series of reports from many sectors of education with forecasts and models for the future of the curriculum.<sup>11</sup> As I will show, much of the conventional wisdom about the aims of drama has been challenged, albeit indirectly, in these changes in the educational climate.

If this analysis bears on the basic functions of drama in the classroom, therefore, it must also ask how basic these are to education and to the curriculum as a whole.

### 3 Aims of the thesis: three perspectives on drama in schools

This thesis therefore has a number of aims. I am concerned overall with developing a coherent way of thinking about drama in schools which can inform practice. Within this I want to tackle central questions of definition and of function relating these to issues of evaluation, assessment and of curriculum provision. In doing so I aim to offer three related perspectives on this work.

#### 3.1 An historical perspective

Drama activities have been part of school curricula for a very long time. The fact that it is often said to be innovative is partly because general conceptions of drama have changed and diversified considerably in recent times. The expanding literature provides

evidence of these changes and has also been instrumental in bringing them about. There have been few attempts, however, to chart the general course of these changes or to draw out the underlying reasons for them.<sup>12</sup>

There is then a gap in our recorded understanding of this work which it may be useful in itself to try to fill. There are three reasons for doing so here, however, which are of specific importance for this study. These are to indicate:

- 1      what the changes have been in the general understanding of drama: what has changed and why;
- 2      some of the influences on contemporary aims and methods;
- 3      the extent to which these changes in the theory and practice of drama have been caught up in much broader social and educational developments.

As I will show the current vocabulary of drama, and the conceptual understanding it embodies, is ranged around a series of oppositions. Many of these began as fine distinctions but, through over-use, have become rough-edged dichotomies. By uncovering their origins in what were quite different social and educational circumstances, I want to reevaluate their usefulness in our own.

There are evident dangers in undertaking such a perspective. Interpreting the past is always precarious. The process of selection and commentary always carries with it a risk of distortion and of bias. There is also the need to reckon with what Raymond Williams (1971) calls the 'selective tradition' by which the complexities of lived events are reduced to a patchy residue of records and recollection. Accordingly, the task of

providing an historical analysis of drama in schools which is only part of the present purpose could well occupy an entire study of its own if full justice were to be done it. I want here to provide only a general background of key themes and developments so as to contextualise the wider argument. It should be acknowledged from the first therefore as being necessarily selective. It must be left to others or to another time to give a more complete account of the rich history of this work in schools to the present day.

### 3.2 A theoretical perspective

In tackling questions of theory I want also to broaden the debate. The attempts to establish drama as a specialism in secondary schools may suggest the need for a special theory of some sort. I want to argue against this and show the important ways in which drama overlaps with other areas on innovation. Specifically, I want to demonstrate the richness of ideas developed in apparently quite different fields of enquiry - in epistemology, linguistics, aesthetics and in the sociology of knowledge - for organising our understanding of the drama process.

A cautionary note is also needed here. Undertaking such an analysis necessarily draws us towards intimidating theoretical issues in each of the areas which I have mentioned. These cannot all be dealt with in either the detail nor with the confidence which a specialist study in any of them alone would demand. We need to tread carefully among these issues therefore and maintain the focus on drama which this study claims. Accordingly there will be points at which lines of development will only be suggested. The potential illumination of the drama process both requires and justifies this breadth of enquiry, however, if only to

point up the dangers of territorialism and isolation to which I will return in concluding the study.

### 3.3 The material context

Whatever educational functions drama may prove to have in theory, it still has to be organised and conducted in real schools with real children. The ways in which any activities are provided for in terms of space, staffing ratios, time and facilities, considerably influence the relationships between what is possible and what is actually achieved in education. It is important, therefore, to set these activities and this analysis of them in a material context.

The 1968 D.E.S. Survey was prompted by the expansion of drama in schools and set out to take stock of it. One of the conclusions of that survey was that the great diversity of aims, methods and opinion in drama was a sign not so much of healthy variety as of a danger that quantity was fast outstripping quality. (D.E.S. 1968, p3). There are two aspects of this which I want to look into.

1 I want to clarify how much drama teaching is actually going on: what the 'quantity' is. Do many schools have specialist teachers or is the work mostly done within other departments? Is drama more common in certain types of school? Do all children in the same school have drama or is there some sort of selection? What size groups do teachers work with and for how long? What kind of facilities are made available and with what results?

Neither the D.E.S. nor Schools Council surveys set out to give figures on these questions and no other figures are available which relate specifically to

provision for drama. Part of my purpose here has been to add to our knowledge of the patterns of curriculum provision for drama by means of a national survey.

2 One of the results of the moves to establish drama as a specialism has been a tendency for its supporters to make considerable claims for it. I will argue that often these have not taken due account of the material context in which the work is done. As a result teachers have sometimes lost focus in day-to-day work by basing activities on over-generalised aims. This has compounded the problems of effective evaluation and consequently of curriculum accountability.

I want to look here then at:

(a) how drama is actually organised and provided for in a range of secondary schools and to establish if there are any detectable patterns;

(b) to consider this provision in the context of the theoretical analysis and vice-versa.

4 The background research: the national survey  
In part this study has set out to establish what is actually going on in schools.<sup>13</sup> The concern therefore has been with a macro rather than with a micro study of drama. Accordingly a wider sample has been taken, and a broader poll canvassed than has elsewhere been done. The 1968 survey looked at the national picture but as a summary of HMI's perceptions (DES: 1968). I wanted to put some detail on this general picture by pursuing specific and

standardised questions of provision and policy. This involved three related forms of enquiry.

(a) The questionnaire

At the beginning of this study I designed and administered a postal survey to a broad sample of schools throughout the British Isles. This has yielded statistical information which is used to contextualise and inform particular points of argument. The procedures of the survey together with the final questionnaires are discussed in Appendix 1.

The main questions posed by the survey were:

- 1 Where is drama taught?
- 2 Who teaches drama?
- 3 How much drama is there in schools?
- 4 What are the facilities for drama?
- 5 What are drama teachers doing?
- 6 What are the attitudes of teachers to assessment and examinations in drama?

(b) School visits and observations

An analysis of the final sample of schools indicated twelve main groupings.<sup>14</sup> I visited schools representing these groups to conduct free interviews with the staff,<sup>15</sup> about their work, to look at facilities and to observe lessons.

(c) Selected interviews

In addition to the school-based interviews, I conducted a series of selected interviews with:

- local authority advisers in drama



- individual writers and practitioners whose work has been influential in the development of drama in schools
- with groups and other individuals whose work relates in some way to drama e.g. Theatre-in-Education, Community Arts groups, local arts centres.

I also gained access to archive material of professional associations for the teaching of drama. The general background to the study has also been greatly enriched by my involvement with the Schools Council Project both through the regional working groups we established and the programme of local, regional and national in-service courses and conferences with teachers and administrators which followed.

## 5 Why the emphasis on secondary schools?

I have confined this study to work in secondary schools.<sup>16</sup>  
There are three main reasons for this.

(1) I am interested in the notion of drama as part of compulsory education. Of the two main divisions in the age range I have most direct experience of secondary education and a greater personal interest in it.

(2) In the comparatively informal atmosphere of primary schools, changes in the pattern of the day, involving innovatory activities, can often be introduced at the discretion of individual teachers.<sup>17</sup> In the highly structured world of the secondary school, change is more difficult to initiate and more complicated to

institutionalise. The need is particularly important here to understand and respond to the material context.

(3) For the political and professional reasons outlined above, questions of function and of priority became more insistent in the secondary school as pupils draw nearer to public examinations and the world of work. So too does the need for a supporting rationale.

## 6 A revaluation of drama in schools: structure of the thesis

I have called this thesis a 'revaluation'. This is because it sets out to reconsider some of the central claims which have been made for drama and to revise the terms in which the functions of such activities have been understood. These revisions have implications for how drama is organised in schools, for how it is taught and how its effects are perceived and understood: implications, in Bernstein's (1971) terms, for curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation.

The thesis is divided into nine chapters. Some of these deal specifically with drama and others with more general themes which bear upon it. Chapter One traces the main lines of historical development of drama in schools. It identifies three main phases in this development and draws in the principal changes which characterise them. It begins with some early influences on theory and practice and moves through to contemporary work setting it in the current climate of accountability.

Chapter Two provides a critique of key themes which have threaded through these developments, specifically those of individualism and self-expression and analyses the relations of these to the notion of 'progressive' education. The conflict between progressive and 'traditional' education has led

to the process of arts work being described in terms of various dichotomies. Examples of these are: emotion versus intellect; participation versus appreciation; drama versus theatre and, perhaps most significant, arts versus science. I will argue that these dichotomies obscure some equally important relationships. I distinguish between two major conceptions of individualism - the 'rational' and the 'natural' - and argue that drama has developed as a specialism mainly within the natural paradigm. Because the dominant forms of accountability tend to derive from rationalist assumptions, however, there is a tendency among drama teachers to try to legitimate what they do in those terms. I argue that this is not feasible and that there are serious difficulties in continuing, in any case, to accept either set of individualistic assumptions to account for drama. This is specifically because they under-emphasise or ignore:

- (1) the social context of personal knowledge;
- (2) the social nature of dramatic activity;
- (3) the educational implications of these.

On this basis I identify the key issues to which any theoretical analysis of drama must be addressed, although I do not, of course, set out to pursue all of them here.

Chapter Three explores the problem of defining drama. The two key features are identified as 'acting-out' and 'social interaction'. This poses two main areas for investigation: the notions of 'role' and of 'group negotiation'.

Chapter Four considers the first of these. It presents a distinction between two broad types of role - the 'real' and the 'symbolic' - and examines the basis of this distinction. Three corollaries are described and related to the use of the term 'acting-out' in this study.

Chapter Five examines the implications of drama as a social activity looking particularly at the notions of 'symbolism' and of 'everyday social reality'. It presents a dialectical view of knowledge in which the process of personal consciousness is of central importance. This draws on a phenomenological analysis which emphasises the significance of different 'ways of knowing' and the creative, intentional activity of the knower. The concepts of 'subjectivity' and of 'objectivity' are examined in relation to this and a number of implications are drawn out for the idea of 'creativity', and for the dialectic of reason and emotion. The view of knowledge as 'object' is discounted in favour of knowledge as a process of 'negotiating meaning'. Dramatic activity is argued to provide a key example of this general process.

Chapter Six looks at the relations between drama, theatre and social reality in the light of this. I identify the main functions of dramatic activity so as to illuminate the relationships between 'participation' and 'appreciation'. The concept of expression is given particular attention. The chapter concludes by criticising the partial ways in which drama is often used in schools.

Chapter Seven tackles the problems of evaluation and assessment. I look at the concept of evaluation and offer a distinction between the 'act' and the 'action' of evaluation. The prevailing 'objectives model' of evaluation is criticised as being inappropriate for the arts. What is urgently needed however is a coherent framework for evaluative action. The chapter proposes such a framework derived from the main components of drama. It further develops the concept of negotiation looking at the relationship between 'process' and 'product' in the arts. The chapter concludes by emphasising the ideological nature of educational evaluation and the particular need for teachers to clarify their own attitudes here.

Chapter Eight applies the main themes of this analysis to identifying the roles of the teacher in the drama lesson and considers each of these roles in turn. The argument is then elaborated to embrace the notion of 'cultural education' through drama. The key features of this are discussed and related to a view of the social functions of theatre.

In the final chapter I consider the implications of this study for drama in the curriculum. An account of current provision is given and of the common problems which teachers find in this. These are argued to be, in the main, those of many forms of innovation and to be rooted in conflicting views about the functions of education as an institution and about the relations of knowledge and the curriculum. These issues are directly linked to questions of educational power and responsibility. The use of examinations as a way round this is criticised and alternative approaches, based on more thorough patterns of formal assessment are recommended. I conclude by arguing that this involves a broader view of the cultural functions of education in the school and the community and that drama and the other arts have an increasingly important role in this.

There are two Appendices. Appendix One lists the main findings of the survey of provision and describes how it was conducted. Appendix Two contains descriptions and selected transcripts of four drama lessons which are used as points of reference in several parts of the text.

## CHAPTER ONE

### DRAMA IN EDUCATION: A GENERAL PERSPECTIVE

#### 1 Reasons for the chapter

- (1) To sketch the main phases in the development of drama in schools
- (2) To look at the background to current principles and practice in drama teaching
- (3) To indicate some of the broader social and educational developments with which drama in schools has been associated.

#### 2 The evolution of drama in schools

##### 2.1 Conflicting assessments of progress

Most schools in Britain have a tradition of school plays: from the nativity of the primary school to the production of classics in the secondary school. Along with other extra curricular activities this has an established place in the cultural life of educational institutions. The development of the school play has interacted down the years with the development of professional theatre.<sup>1</sup> Although the school play is an important element of dramatic activity in schools, and we will begin by looking at its origins, I am principally concerned in this chapter with a related line of development: that of drama as a specialist part of the daily curriculum.

A principal reason for sketching the background of drama in schools is to provide a context for defining this work. This task is complicated, however, by the need for such a definition. Much of what has been said and

written indicates that different people have had different things in mind in using the term drama in education.

The literature, for example, contains a number of estimates about the amount of drama going on in schools at various times. The telling fact is that at the same moment it has seemed to some observers that drama was going on all over the place in schools and to others that there were just isolated flares of activity here and there. Is there any coherence in these views or were some of them just wrong?

The 1960's are generally thought of as the boom years for drama teaching. Certainly drama courses benefited considerably from the unprecedented investment in teacher training. In 1962 there were six main courses in drama. By 1971 there were over 100.<sup>2</sup> This would have encouraged the Newsom committee who, in 1963, expressed concern that,

'..... the educative experience of drama, in all its forms, is too often, despite notable exceptions, restricted or denied to pupils'.

(Ministry of Education: 1963, para 480, p157)

Three years later, John Hodgson and Earnest Richards saw little change. As they saw it,

'..... so far, in most schools, drama has not been seen as significant enough to be given a place'.

(Hodgson, J and Richards, E: 1966, p8)

They were of course writing when, and presumably because, larger numbers of students than ever before

were making their way through specialist drama courses and were beginning to move out from the colleges. But the implication seems to be, in both of these statements, that drama had not yet struggled to its feet in schools.

It is perplexing to compare these views with those of an unpublished report written in 1949, fourteen years before Newsom. The report was the outcome of a Working Party convened for the Ministry of Education by the Permanent Secretary, John Maude (Ministry of Education: 1949a). Its terms were,

'..... to consider the place, function, content and technique of drama in the education of children and young people and in the training of teachers'.

(Ibid., p1)

It began by reporting that, 'in the past two decades, there has been a remarkable development of drama in every kind of school', and went on:

'..... It is true that many schools still include little or no drama in any part of their curriculum, but so many others do find room for it, in one form or another, that drama can now be regarded as an established and worthwhile part of school life'.

(Ibid., p6)

The work of the committee had been prompted by this 'remarkable development' and by the prospect of further expansion to come. But drama was not new to schools even then. The report mentions events of the previous two decades. But drama had been common in schools long before that.



Exactly twenty years earlier a book was published looking at the history of The School Drama in England. Its author commented that in schools and colleges, not only in England,

'..... but throughout the English speaking world, the educational value of drama is receiving increasingly widespread recognition'.

(Vail Motter: 1929, pvii)

Ten years before that, in 1919, the Board of Education had reported on the benefits of dramatic activity in schools and had recommended increased provision for it in schools, colleges and universities. (Board of Education: 1919). So it was no surprise when, in 1938, a new book on School Drama (Boas, G. and Hayden, H., (Eds): 1938) appeared in which it was confidently stated that,

'..... the Benediction of the Board of Education upon dramatic work in schools has fallen as a final vindication upon what is by now an established practice'.

(Ibid., p32)

Given this confident tone of the '20's', '30's, and '40's, why, amid all the expansion of the 1960's, the concerns and anxieties of Newsom, Hodgson and Richards? Why should it seem from one set of accounts that drama rides on the shoulders of a long and healthy tradition, and from others that its activities are severely restricted? Why, finally, are both views apparently contradicted by the D.E.S. survey of 1968 in which drama is discussed as a comparative newcomer to the curriculum, young but growing fast? It was the rate of growth and the diversity of what was going on that

concerned the Inspectorate most. Here, for the first time, was an urgent demand for definition.

'..... the question we have continually asked ourselves is this: does there exist in the middle of this range of artistic expression, a discipline that can be defined or identified as drama? If not, how do we describe drama? Who is to teach it? If our answers are uncertain it is because we have hesitated to impose a definition on a young and growing subject. But the need for clarification is strong and, since the quantity of work is far outstripping quality, urgent'.

(D.E.S.: 1968, p3)

## 2.2 Three main phases of development

The key to this puzzle lies in a changing conceptions of drama in education and of the institutional forms it has been assumed it should take. Where it had once been seen as part of the teaching of English, and had, in that sense, been firmly established, a new understanding of drama began to emerge in the 1950's and 1960's which led to calls for it to be seen as a separate specialism. In that sense it was not established at all.

The most contentious issue in these changes has been the meaning of the terms drama and theatre and the relationship or otherwise between them. At a key point in the history of drama in schools, opinion divided on this, issue and has remained divided ever since.

We need to consider the causes and effects of this for two reasons. First, because it is a contentious issue for teachers of drama which has implications for the work itself and for how it relates to the rest of the

curriculum. Second, because, as we shall see, it raises broader issues for education as a whole, and especially arts education, bearing as it does on some basic questions of function.

In these respects the development of drama in schools can be divided into three main phases.

Phase 1 - From the beginnings of compulsory education to the 1950's:

when drama and theatre were virtually synonyms in education.

Phase 2 - From the 1950's to the 1970's:

when drama began being developed as a separate specialism. Many teachers then sharply distinguished what they were doing from theatre.

Phase 3 - From the early 1970's to the present:

when, partly because of the pressures of public accountability, many teachers have been led to re-examine the assumptions of earlier work and the place of both drama and theatre in schools.

Each of these phases, although clearly overlapping, is distinguishable according to the activities used in drama lessons, the outcomes sought and the underlying assumptions about the roles of the teacher.

### 3 Drama to the 1950's

#### 3.1 The school drama and the early theatre

In its earliest forms, drama in education in England meant play-acting. The deepest roots of the professional theatre are indeed entangled in those of the school drama. Before the emergence of a separate professional class of actors, writers and producers, dating roughly from the foundation of the Theatre in London in 1576, acting plays was an amateur affair, open to anyone interested enough to

get involved: trade guilds, strolling players, churches and the schools. Until the theatre was professionalised,

'..... The school boys were simply one of the many independent groups of drama producers. The plays they acted were as much a part of the English drama of their day as any other plays in the kingdom'.

(Vail Motter, T H: 1929, p238)

The earliest recorded stage performance in England was of a boy-production of the Play of St Catherine given by the choir boys of Dunstable in the early 12th century. Among the earliest surviving written plays in the language are those composed originally for performance by school boy companies including Ralph Roister Doister, by Nicholas Udall, a school master at Eton and Westminster. Music and Drama had an important place in Tudor education in general; Roger Ascham, tutor to Elizabeth I, himself emphasising the educational values of dramatic activity and of play.<sup>3</sup>

The pattern of dramatic activity up to and including the early Elizabethan period was irrevocably changed with the coming of the professionals. Theatre, from the late 16th century, began to be more business-like. Although the school boys and other amateurs - Children of the Chapels, scholars, gentlemen of the Inns of Court - were to continue acting, their influence on the development of the theatre gradually declined as they were edged away from the centres of innovation.

Within the schools themselves the practice of acting plays was maintained, not just as a means of entertainment, but of education. Drama activities were encouraged during the second half of the 16th century and into the 17th century by the Jesuits with their

enthusiasm for Latin and the classic texts. The use of drama persisted in schools even within the starker vision of the Puritans. If they could see no virtue in the public performances of theatre, they saw some at least in using dramatic activity to teach the classics. It was in the 18th century that interest in drama as a means of education,

'..... both in familiarising the student with good authors and in training him in speaking, poise and "stage presence"'

(Vail Motter, T H: 1929, p242)

really began to expand.

Traditionally dramatic activity had been valued for the social skills it promoted and for its part in transmitting the dominant culture. At the centre of 18th century Romanticism, however, stood the concept of the 'Natural' world. In education, Rousseau's study of Emile argued for forms of teaching which promoted games and pleasurable activity and did not impose adult attitudes and values on young minds; an education which cherished childhood. Here a basis was being set down for drama to be seen first and foremost as a natural form of expressive activity.

Like Rousseau, Froebel, in his work with very young children during the 19th century, saw play and 'natural' activity as the foundation of a liberal and humane education. If play commended itself for these reasons to liberal educationalists of the 19th century, and with John Dewey and others, of the 20th century, it became the object of other, and so far as drama in schools is concerned, equally significant forms of enquiry which were also developing in the late 19th century.

The new disciplines of social and psychological enquiry which were emerging in the post-Darwin world of evolution and natural selection sought to analyse the patterns of personal and social development and to consider the functions of play and other early activity within this. Together, the liberalisation of educational philosophy and studies in the psychology of play nurtured a conception of drama in schools which broke almost completely with its theatrical traditions.

### 3.2 From 1900 to the 1930's

#### 3.2.1 Drama as text

For the first four hundred years or so of its use in schools, drama meant acting in plays and learning about dramatic literature. The accepted distinction was that 'drama' referred to the stock of texts and 'theatre' to the business of performing them. It is in these senses that early reports on the curriculum in this century endorsed the use of dramatic activity in schools. In its report on The Teaching of English the Board of Education defined drama as three things: as something to be written; as something to be read; and as something to be acted. (Board of Education: 1919, p315). Drama was text.

The practical activities of drama comprised the performance of scenes and pieces in the class; the public performance of plays by pupils; visits by pupils to professional performances of suitable plays. For the Board, the outcomes of these activities were clear:

'..... The pupils who take part in the performance of plays learn ..... to express emotion becomingly. to be expressive yet restrained, to subordinate the individual to the whole, to play the

game, to be resourceful and self-possessed, and to overcome and mitigate personal disabilities'.

(Ibid., p316)

'It will hardly be suggested', the report adds, 'that these are negligible accomplishments'.

The association of drama activities with the promotion of particular social attitudes is common to all three phases of its development.

### 3.2.2 The Playway

As the Board was reporting, an influential figure in the development of drama was preparing the second edition of a book which contained a more expansive view of drama in schools. Henry Caldwell Cook, a teacher at the Perse School in Cambridge, saw dramatic activity as a method of teaching across the whole curriculum. He deplored what he saw as the suppression of children's natural vitality and curiosity by formal methods of instruction. In their place he offered The Playway, which he described as,

'..... some ideas and practical suggestions on educational method which it is hoped may prove helpful to teachers who have not shut their minds against reform'.

(Caldwell Cook: 1919, pix)

With Rousseau and Froebel his precept was that play is the natural mode of learning and enquiry for all children and is the basis of their personal and social development. Since children have

a seemingly inexhaustible impulse to play, he argued, teachers would be better employed in learning to tap this energy, and to use it constructively, than in trying to staunch it.

He was not simply adding to the general repertory of classroom methods. He made this clear in associating the Playway with seven general maxims.

If teachers were to adopt his methods, they must accept that:

- (1) The method of study is quite as important as the matter studied. (p23)
- (2) Direct instruction is only a small part of what can take place in a classroom. (p28)
- (3) Self-improvement is not a matter of discipline only but a condition which makes it possible for the boys to learn by themselves in actual lessons. (p31)
- (4) If boys are to be taught by means of play, the master must have a genuine interest in the play. (p36)
- (5) One of the first qualities of a playmaster is tact. (p41)
- (6) The basis of educational method must be a regard for the pupils' interests. (p45)
- (7) Under a natural system of education, there can be no absolute standard of discipline. Right behaviour is a relative condition to be determined by its appropriateness to the occasion. (p47)

He was calling for a complete re-consideration of educational priorities; of methods of teaching; of the curriculum and of the relationship between the teacher



and the learner. In these ways the Playway exemplified the principles, and dramatic activity the practice, of 'progressive' education in general.

### 3.2.3 Broadening the base of primary education: activity and experience

The Playway was not an isolated innovation. The value of play and of expressive activity of one sort or another in education had been pointed to by philosophers back to Aristotle and Plato. But with the perspectives on human behaviour which 19th century evolutionary theory proposed, systematic attempts to examine and establish the social functions of play were now being made. The assumption that human activity is principally directed towards survival and procreation suggested that, being pervasive and seemingly instinctive, play must participate biologically or socially in the satisfaction of these needs.

Some early speculations in this direction were made by Herbert Spenser (1873) who suggested that play was the burning away of surplus energy, once the needs of survival had been met - a kind of steam valve. Later writers progressed to detailed observations of children and animals at play, setting out to describe and classify the main features of these activities. G.S. Hall (1916), the American psychologist, discarded 'surplus energy' in favour of a 'recapitulation theory' which proposed direct parallels between ontogenetic and phylogenetic development; the one being a repetition of the other. Karl Groos (1901) followed Darwinian principles of natural selection in suggesting that play is a rehearsal of necessary skills in the individual's own struggle for survival. Theories of play succeeded each other in this way until the

need for a special theory was called into question. In 20th century psychology the tendency has been to integrate the attempts to understand the functions of play into the search for a general theory of human psychology.

In the process the conviction that play is functional and participates in the growth and development of the child has become part of the intellectual landscape. This was beginning to be so as Caldwell Cook wrote The Playway. Nevertheless, the transition from speculative theory to daily practice, when it happens at all,<sup>4</sup> can be imperceptibly slow. The Playway was remarkable partly because it readily translated emerging principles into a practical methodology. But it was also remarkable for its breadth. Caldwell Cook argued the use of the Playway not only across the whole curriculum but across the whole age range. The implications of theories of play may have been obvious to some of those working with very young children. Caldwell Cook had his eyes on the secondary school as well.

A number of other teachers were experimenting along related lines. John Dewey's work in his Laboratory School in America was commanding interest on both sides of the Atlantic. At the Dalton School in New York and at the Porter School, near Kirksville in Missouri, other teachers were encouraging 'learning by doing', as was John Merrill at the Francis W Parker School in the United States,<sup>5</sup> and A S Makarenko in the U.S.S.R.<sup>6</sup>

In Britain in the 1920's innovations of this sort were isolated. Where they did exist they were mostly confined to primary or to independent schools, which, being less tied to public policy, are some times more open to innovation. In the 1930's

and 1940's, although drama work in the secondary schools continued to be theatre-based, the notions of self-expression and creativity slowly percolated into the state system of education; first at the primary level and then eventually up into the secondary schools. How did this come about?

By the late 1920's and early 1930's the Board of Education's view of primary schools was sympathetic to liberal notions and was clearly being influenced by psychologists' adventures into child development. H.M.I. through its reviews and reports on the school curriculum, played a seminal part in spreading these perspectives throughout the state primary system. A key figure in the Inspectorate of this time was Christian Schiller, seen by one commentator as the principal agent in the liberalisation of primary schools in Britain.<sup>7</sup>

The Board of Education had long encouraged teachers to be flexible in their work in schools.<sup>8</sup> The Hadow Report (Board of Education: 1931) on Primary Schools, of which Schiller was a principal author, argued within this tradition for the need to look to the 'whole child'. The report firmly endorsed play, activity and self-expression, as important elements within state education; activities which,

'..... if the psychologists are right, are so closely correlated with the development and perception of feeling'.

(Ibid., p76)

The Report urged that the primary curriculum be seen in terms of activity and experience, rather than of knowledge to be acquired and facts to be stored.

In saying so, the Committee recognised, as Caldwell Cook had done twelve years before, that teaching methods and attitudes would have to change. The tendency to see the curriculum as a jigsaw of traditional subjects, related only as a pattern of separate units, needed to be questioned. So too did the practice of presenting work to children simply as 'lessons to be mastered'. Methods of work were needed which took as their starting point, 'the experience, curiosity and awakening powers of the children themselves' (Ibid., pp xvii-xxix).

#### 3.2.4 Formal and informal drama

The Hadow Committee recognised in 1931 that the term 'drama' covered a wide variety of activities. The report made working distinction between 'formal' drama on one hand, comprising work on, and performance of plays, and 'informal' drama on the other, in which children were encouraged to create and act out their own scenes and stories. The Committee did not distinguish between the values of these activities, arguing rather that both offered 'good opportunities for developing ..... self-expression' (Board of Education: 1931, p76).

#### 3.2.5 Drama in the secondary school

If drama found a place in primary education in the 1930's and 1940's it was partly because the general atmosphere was congenial to it. The curricula of secondary schools has always been more subject to , external pressures and less open to change. The Consultative Committee on the Education of the Adolescent published in 1926, and also chaired by Hadow, insisted however that,

'..... a humane and liberal education is not one given

through books alone, but one which brings children into contact with the larger interests of mankind'.

(Board of Education: 1926, para 93)

In outlining its proposals for the development of secondary education through the grammar and modern schools, the Committee therefore offered three main objectives:-

'..... One is the forming and strengthening of character - individual and national character - through the placing of youth, in its hour of growth, 'as it were in the fair meadow' of a congenial and inspiring environment.

Another is the training of boys and girls to delight in pursuits and rejoice in accomplishments - work in music and art; work in wood and metals; work in literature and the record of human history - which may become the recreations and the ornaments of hours of leisure in maturer years.

And still another is the awakening and guiding of the practical intelligence for the better and more skilled service of the community'.

(Board of Education: 1926, pxxiii)

The 1931 Hadow Report emphasised the role of expressive activity in the development of feeling. Here in 1926 the arts are associated with recreation and with leisure - as distinct from developing 'the practical intelligence'.

The notions of recreation and leisure have loomed large in the development of drama and the arts in

schools, either drawing them towards, or turning them away, from the mainstream of educational priorities according to which way the tide has been running. In the 1920's and 1930's, while the concern with 'wholeness' was creating favourable circumstances for drama in primary schools, the association of drama with recreation, and with certain formal skills, was securing a place for it in secondary schools; if not within the formal timetable.

### 3.2.6 Amateur dramatics

The amateur theatre movement swelled before and after the Second World War, so that in 1952 for example, there were estimated to be 30,000 amateur groups in Britain.<sup>9</sup> In schools the use of drama with older children was also spreading. In 1938 the authors of The School Drama saw a relationship between these two movements; the growing popularity of amateur drama having encouraged,

'..... the practice of school drama in many quarters where it had never been thought of before .....

The number of schools both elementary and secondary where play-acting has become a normal feature of the school's life must now run into thousands, for the value of drama as a cultural exercise is now almost universally admitted and it is no secret that H.M. Board of Education has given its official sanction and blessing to the good work'.

(Boas, G and Hayden, H: 1938, pv)

### 3.3 From the 1930's to the 1950's: speech and drama

In the secondary schools especially, the teaching of drama was commonly associated throughout the 1930's and 1940's with the promotion of 'good speech'. Although in the 1930's the numbers of Speech and Drama teachers were small,<sup>10</sup> there was a vigorous professional association at work to advance their interests. The Association of Teachers of Speech and Drama - later The Society of Teachers of Speech and Drama - organised regular courses and conferences for teachers and, through its own Bulletin, encouraged debate on issues related to voice-production, speech, acting technique and producing plays.<sup>11</sup> Through its Council, the Association aimed to keep in constant touch 'with Educational Bodies, in order to further the cause of good speech'.<sup>12</sup> Many of its members were to have considerable influence on the subsequent development of drama including Elsie Fogerty, later principal of the Central School of Speech and Drama; Maisie Cobby, later Drama Inspector for the Inner London Education Authority; Rose Bruford, founder of her own college for drama teachers; E J Burton, Senior Lecturer at Trent Park and John Holgate of the Guildhall.

In the schools, 'drama' now embraced action games, mime, puppetry, choral speaking, composition, exercises in dialogue form, the dramatisation of stories, ballads, and narrative passages, the study and performance in the classroom of all types of play and the 'application of these methods to material in other lessons, notably history, geography and modern languages' (Boas, G and Hayden, H: 1938, p32).

There were three important and characteristic assumptions underlying the Speech and Drama tradition in secondary schools which were soon to be challenged. First there was the need for formal discipline; second, the importance of the 'cultural heritage'; and third, the association of drama with English teaching.

### 3.3.1 The need for discipline

Teachers of drama in the 1930's recognised the general distinction between formal and informal drama. In both cases there was a strong link with performance and 'showing'. Discipline and control were also essential to both. The authors of School Drama recommended that a definite procedure should be established and,

'..... fair notice given ....  
for all the acted work in the  
form room. Where space is  
available a standard size  
stage should be marked out on  
the classroom floor with  
tapes ..... preparations  
should be under the charge of  
a stage manager who can be  
changed from month to month  
and he will take directions  
from the producer of the  
moment'.

(Boas, G and Hayden H: 1938, p39)

### 3.3.2 A benefit of its own

A central reason for including such activities in the secondary curriculum was that dramatic literature and the performance of plays were seen as an important part of the cultural tradition. There was some antagonism between teachers on the question of how new ideas about self-expression and personal development related to this. A contributor to an A.T.S.D. Bulletin of 1938 was in no doubt. Self-expression was simply a fashion. In Shakespearian productions he tried to insist,

'..... on the boys learning  
to stand well, move well and  
speak the verse well.  
Shakespeare could be relied  
upon to do the rest and the  
boys had learnt something  
worth learning'.<sup>13</sup>



Elsewhere in the Bulletin another teacher defended drama as a means of personal development. But, like many others, he was also concerned with

'..... giving children a rudimentary dramatic training in speech and movement in the belief that the exercise of such a training has a benefit of its own'.

Subsequent reports on drama by the Ministry of Education and by the Department of Education and Science were to recall attention to these formal demands of drama and its cultural importance, and to criticise teachers for having departed too far from them. In the secondary schools of the 1930's and 1940's the exodus was just getting under way.

### 3.3.3 Drama and English

In the great majority of secondary schools, drama was not considered to require separate timetabling. The association of drama with speech and with dramatic literature linked it, indissolubly so it seemed, to the English Department.<sup>14</sup>

In the 1950's the basic precepts of the Speech and Drama tradition were to be challenged as the implications for drama of liberal educational philosophy and of theories of expressive play were teased out. This produced demands for the division of drama and English teaching and for drama teachers to be appointed, and provided for, as independent specialists in secondary schools.

## 4 Drama in the 1950's and 1960's: child drama and self-expression

### 4.1 Straws in the wind

If drama was a gathering force in the 1930's and 1940's it was partly because of traditional interests in

theatre as part of the dominant culture. But it was also due to the interest in expressive activity and 'learning by doing' among educational 'progressives'. 'Learning by doing' commended itself to many education-  
alists. While Caldwell Cook was at work in Cambridge, and John Dewey in America, A S Makarenko was developing his own system in Russia.

Charged with providing an education for some of the millions of children and adolescents left homeless and parentless by the Revolution, Makarenko eventually devised an approach based on collective responsibility and the achievement of practical tasks. Within this he emphasised the value of creative work and of aesthetic experiences, promoting especially the formation of musical groups and the production of plays with the theatre. Makarenko stressed the need to adapt teaching methods to educational needs, and strongly opposed the division of education and everyday life.

'..... I have always been opposed to the view that pedagogy is based on a study of the child and a study of isolated, abstractive methods..... educative work governs the whole life of the pupil'. (Makarenko: n.d., p273)

Alongside this concern with applied education, he saw that, the child has a passion for play, and argued that, 'this play impulse should tincture his whole life' (Ibid., p261).<sup>15</sup>

Interest in such principles, together with the use of ,  
enactive techniques of learning, was growing independently <sup>16</sup>  
in primary schools in Britain, particularly for example,  
in the West Riding of Yorkshire.<sup>17</sup> In some primary  
schools - as in that of A L Stone<sup>18</sup> - dramatic activity  
became the organising principle of the whole curriculum.  
Given the range of influences on the use of drama in

post-war schools, it was perhaps inevitable that some tension should have developed between the respective supporters of formal and informal approaches; and inevitable too perhaps that camps of opinion should oppose themselves around this distinction. For this was not simply a methodological dispute about the best way to achieve commonly agreed ends. It concerned basic questions of educational purpose. Informal drama came, during the 1950's, to be opposed to formal methods, just as, more generally, 'progressive' education was tilted against 'traditionalism'. These ideological differences were reflected in professional groupings.

The declared objects of the S.T.S.D. in 1952 were:

'..... To protect the professional interests of members and to promote the advancement of knowledge, study and practice of speech and dramatic art in every form.

To secure the proper educational status of Spoken English in schools, colleges, and teachers' training establishments, to ensure that those teaching speech training are properly qualified and to encourage artistic use and appreciation of good speech.'<sup>19</sup>

Many members of the Society promoted the notions of self-expression, personal development and creativity in their work. But the Society's basic commitment to 'good speech', its insistence on technical qualifications as a condition of membership and the exclusiveness this led to, combined to give it an image of brass-plate gentility.<sup>20</sup> It was in 1954, against the background of these developments, and partly in response to them, that Peter Slade published Child Drama.

#### 4.2 Child drama

In 1943 a group of teachers met in Birmingham. Disaffected by the objects and tone of the S.T.S.D. they

sought to form another organisation to foster an interest in drama in schools. This became the Educational Drama Association (E.D.A.).

Four years later Peter Slade was appointed to the Birmingham Authority as the country's first local authority drama adviser. He became Chairman of the E.D.A. and opened the Experimental Drama Centre in Rea Street, near the city centre, where he began to develop a view of drama based on many years work with adults and children. Together with Brian Way, editor of Child Drama and later author in his own right of Development Through Drama (1967), he was to influence profoundly the course of drama teaching in the 1950's and 1960's.

It was Slade's view that what he called Child Drama was an art form in its own right, quite distinct from theatre as understood by adults. It grows from a natural source within children and the teacher's task is to provide the conditions in classrooms for this to happen. Drama is not a subject nor a method of teaching,

'..... It is the great activity,  
it never ceases where there is  
life; it is eternally bound up  
with mental health. It is the  
Art of Living'.<sup>21</sup>

(1954, p25)

The teacher's job is not so much to teach skills and techniques of performance as to nurture this natural capacity, in the role of a 'loving ally'. Child Drama has its roots in play. There are only two qualities to be fostered: absorption and sincerity.

'..... Absorption is being completely wrapped up in what is being done to the exclusion of all other thoughts .....

Sincerity is a complete form of honesty in portraying a part, bringing with it an intense feeling of reality and experience'.

(1958, pp2-3)

Slade distinguished two types of play: personal and projected. Projected play uses the whole mind, but the child,

'..... stands still, sits, lies prone, or squats and uses chiefly the hands. The main action takes place outside the body and the whole is characterised by extreme mental absorption ..... strong mental projection is taking place'.

(1958, pp3-4)

Projected play, he argued, is the prototype of:

'..... art, playing musical instruments, love of freshwater fishing, non-violent games .... reading and writing, observation, patience, concentration, organisation and wise government'.

(1958, p5)

Personal play is 'obvious drama'. It is physically active, and the tendency is towards noise and exertion. It is typified by movement, 'and we note the entering and the experience of being things or people'. In personal play,

'..... the child journeys about and takes upon himself the responsibility of playing a role'.

(1958, pp3-4)

Personal play develops later into running, ball games, athletics, dance, riding, cycling, swimming, fighting, hiking etc.

Slade saw performances and the study of theatre as appropriate only for older children in the secondary school. In thinking about younger children, he argued, a distinction should be made 'most carefully', between,

'..... drama in the wide sense and theatre as understood by adults  
..... Theatre means an ordered occasion of entertainment and shared emotional experience; there are actors and audience differentiated. But the child, if unspoiled, feels no such differentiation, particularly in the early years - each person is both actor and audience. All are doers ..... going where they wish and facing any direction they like during play. Action takes place all about us and there is no question of 'who should sit and face whom doing what'.

(1958, p2)

If earlier writers, from Caldwell Cook onwards, had asserted the importance of drama in schools and offered suggestions for its practice, Slade was the first to offer a systematic analysis of why it was significant: an analysis which, although original in its particular reference to drama, drew heavily on key trends in educational and psychological thought of the day. For these reasons, and because of Slade's national reputation as a practitioner, Child Drama was both eagerly anticipated by drama teachers,<sup>22</sup> and profoundly influential on the subsequent literature. Slade not only questioned adult assumptions about theatre, he reconsidered the nature of the drama lesson itself and the teachers' role within it.<sup>23</sup> At the centre of his thinking, was his distinction between drama and theatre.

It was a distinction which eventually overcame some considerable resistance, not the least of which was at the Ministry of Education.

#### 4.3 The division of drama and theatre: official resistance

Slade himself did not seek to dichotomise but to distinguish drama and theatre. He saw a progression towards theatre in the later years of secondary education. With older children there is, he says, 'a remarkable capacity for learning' (1954: p62), and theatre and text are legitimate objects of study. For others the subtleties of this distinction were less clear. During the 1960's this distinction became a polarity.

The 1949 Working Party of the Ministry of Education, of which Slade was a member, sought with some difficulty, partly because of his membership, to avert this separation of drama and theatre.<sup>24</sup>

The committee used the term drama,

'..... to imply the embodiment of a deeply felt impulse which is common to all human beings, an activity which forms part of the experience of everyone, young and old, trained and untrained'.

(Ministry of Education: 1949a,p4)

Like Slade, they saw drama as a natural capacity. By 'theatre' they meant,

'..... the particular act of drama which is performed by actors on some kind of stage or arena with an audience present or implied'.

(Ibid., p4)

Although, in talking of drama,

'..... or of drawing or indeed of any art, we are really thinking of the various ways in which children can realise the artistic power which is in them'

(Ibid., p7)

the committee did not see children producing distinguishable art forms in their own right. They saw in the expressive activity of the young, the seeds of the mature arts of the adult. If there was a distinction between drama and theatre, there was also a natural progression from one to the other.

Accordingly the aim of the teacher must be, in due course, to engage children with 'great art'. This is not the opposite of encouraging their own creative work. The two are complementary.<sup>25</sup>

'..... This transition must obviously be skillfully guided and the children's own plays - particularly the choice of themes - should be a great help in approaching and selecting plays written for the theatre. If carefully introduced, a real interest will be found when the familiar problems of character, dialogue and construction which the young people have met in their own work are dealt with by a master hand'.

(Ibid., pp33-34)

The committee qualified this argument in two ways. First, they saw this transition taking place in the secondary school. Primary drama work should be based exclusively on play and the children's own expressive activity. Second, although the 'great masterpieces' stand at the climax of a drama course, they are not for all children. For,



'..... the great play is not often easy. There is the barrier of language ..... though the close reading which complexity compels will itself help an intelligent reader to the heart of the subject matter. But there is also the difficulty that in the great work of art the thought and feeling are concerned with those ultimate things that cannot be expressed directly'.

(Ibid., pp37-38)

For these reasons any scholarly and detailed approach to the classic masterpieces, including Shakespeare: would be wholly out of place in the secondary modern school and should not be introduced too early, even to the 'more linguistically gifted children who go to the grammar school'.

What concerned the committee most was that the rising tide of self-expression and creativity would sweep away all concern with artistic rigour. As they saw it, anyone who stamped their foot categorically about such things did so on thin ice so far as proven theory went. Accordingly the report urges teachers to tread carefully among the new ideas. The most important element in arts work was the teacher's attitude to children.

'..... better the most old-fashioned approach on the part of the teacher who loves and understands children than something speciously in line with current fashion but without real sympathy'.

(Ibid., p2)

Encouraging children's own creative work did not mean that the role of the teacher was somehow less significant. Certainly it would have to change; but it would if anything become more complex:

'..... recently, in most forms of art (the teacher's) duty was to 'teach' drawing or drama as if they were subjects known to the adult but not to the child..... To set out to encourage something which is already in the child and capable of growing with him is more difficult, but more satisfying ..... In drama ..... children cannot do without ..... guidance ..... children cannot produce art out of a vacuum. This means hard work and great intelligence and sympathy on the part of the teacher'.

( Ibid., p22-3)

In encouraging creative expression, the teacher must still be prepared to instruct and advise the child. In a passage which suggests that they were picking their targets with care, the committee called for flexibility; certainly there is no place in schools,

'..... for the ruthless producer whose artistic egoism leads him to regard children as so many puppets, to be moved about according to some design of his own'.

(Ibid., p46)

Neither is there a place,

'..... for the sentimentalist who has unproved theories on pure 'self-expression'.

(Ibid., p4)

At all events there was a clear need for formal discipline and the teaching of dramatic skills. The committee saw in their argument some specific implications for the curriculum. Drama was not a subject, but neither was it a method. It could flourish in many ways and take many shapes. In many schools however drama was being valued only for its 'secondary effects' or by-products: e.g. speech training, or creating interest in other topics.

The committee set itself against the prevailing 'subject-centred' curriculum. Particularly in the grammar school, this led to fierce warfare as too many subjects competed for too few periods: a battle which intensified with the approach of public examinations. It was essential, they argued, in both primary and secondary schools, that the curriculum be thought of as an 'articulated whole, conceived in terms of the pupils' development' (Ibid., p41).

The trend towards specialists in drama was to be regarded with caution, therefore. Coupled with the subject domination of the timetable this could lead to the isolation of drama behind false and arbitrary barriers. More than any other art form, drama 'is set on fire by many hands, holding many torches' (Ibid., p51), and should not be set apart from other work in the school.

If these points could be agreed, the committee saw in drama in schools the promise of a 'remarkable renaissance which should leave its marks upon the theatre in this country and not merely upon education' (Ibid., p73). This depended on the reconciliation of drama and theatre which the report hoped to effect. It was not published and its arguments were not disseminated. During the 1950's and into the 1960's the gap deepened between drama and theatre.

#### 4.4 A climate of change

Why was Slade's notion of Child Drama to prove so great an influence on drama teachers in the 1950's and 1960's? A principal reason was the extent to which it related to significant themes in a changing social climate. There was already an enormous range of dramatic activity in Britain inside and outside the schools and this, like all forms of community activity, had been increasing since the raising of the blackout in 1945. An important feature of this, to which we will return, was the

development of Children's Theatre. But there were also profound changes in hand in the whole structure of formal education following the Education Act of 1944. The principle of the tripartite system, and the notion of different aptitudes on which it was founded, fitted well with the attempts of first a Labour and then a Conservative administration to rebuild the industrial and commercial base of the post-war economy.

But if there was a political determination to secure the material structure of British society, there was also, in sections of that society, a creeping unrest with the materialist ethic itself. If in the 1950's a generation of playwrights and novelists struggled to take stock of the national temperament at a time, exemplified in the Suez crisis, of political decline and of technological upheaval, a generation of educationalists was also calling for some response in the schools. For these, the attempts of successive peace-time governments to create new wealth were having unexpected social costs. At a conference at the Royal Festival Hall in 1957 an attempt was made to assess the implications of some of these changes for education. Herbert Read opened the conference, on Humanity, Technology and Education, by criticising the whole direction in which formal education was turning. Instead of broadening its base, it was being narrowly restricted to meet instrumental, extrinsic ends:

'..... The ideal of education is no longer the development of the whole man, much less the creation of a gentleman: it is an intensive search for special aptitudes and the development of a chosen aptitude into a particular technique. We are told that our survival as a nation depends on this partial and specialised form of education. Our civilisation is no longer primarily human. Mechanisation has taken

command and the human being becomes a component of the machine'.

(Joint Council for Education Through Art: 1957, p5)

As he saw it, the pre-occupation with technological advance was turning schools and colleges into production lines of myopic specialists. Vocationalism in education had been invented purely to conform with specialism in industry.

'..... The ideal of technology is complete automation - a machine that controls itself without human intervention. The corresponding ideal of education is a human brain that controls itself free from all idealistic entanglements, free above all from originality of any kind. Functional thinking is like functional machinery: cold, precise, imageless, repetitive, bloodless, nerveless, dead'.

(Ibid., p6)

The point, for Read, was to improve the quality of social life. At the heart of this, as he saw it, was a regard for the individual and for the personal world of imagination and feeling. Material prosperity was no reward for sacrificing these essential human qualities; for quenching emotion and original thought. For him and other speakers - Louis Arnaud Reid and Rudolf Laban among them - this meant promoting the arts both inside and outside formal education and more vigorously than ever before.<sup>26</sup> The idea that society is plotting its own brain death, that human relationships are becoming impoverished and the creative spirit emaciated by advanced technology and creeping commercialism, provide fertile conditions for the reception of the principles of Child Drama with its call for a return to individuality and re-assertion of the purity of childhood. The

vigour with which the ideas of 'child-centred' education, creativity and self-expression were taken up in all areas of the curriculum over the next fifteen years or so suggests that these principles were not confined to the Rea Street Centre or to the Festival Hall.

Despite the evident originality of much of his work in drama, Slade, perhaps unconsciously, was pointing drama into a gathering wind. The time was right for the teacher-producer with his rolls of tape and French's Acting Edition, to give way to the loving ally and his absorbed sincerity.

Slade's achievement was considerable. He established drama in schools as more than just an aspect of adult culture and, in doing so, challenged forthrightly the cultural assumption that learning about theatre and acting techniques did in fact have 'a benefit of its own'. In doing this he pushed drama into the mainstream of 'progressivism' in education and strengthened its ideological framework with the concepts of developmental psychology and of liberal philosophy. Slade's basic notions clearly influenced the key books on drama teaching which were published in Britain during the 1950's and 1960's: notably Development Through Drama by Brian Way (1967)<sup>27</sup> and Teaching Drama by Pemberton-Billing and Clegg (1965)<sup>28</sup>.

In 1966, however, John Hodgson and Earnest Richards took a different, though related, line to Slade's. They too saw drama as a pervasive element of everyday life. But, their proposals for educational drama had a strong theatre base. In Improvisation they saw,

'..... Acting as a central activity in the understanding of life and whether this is pursued professionally for the theatre or

primarily as a means of education or re-education, we see the central activity of acting as improvisation'.

(Ibid., p10)

Here they formally introduced into the literature, and made available to a new generation of teachers, the training and rehearsal techniques of Stanislavsky and of the American 'Method' school of acting. These techniques promoted a closer identification between the actor and the part and a deeper explanation of character and the skills of physical expression, encouraging 'observation' and 'identification' in place of surface imitation.<sup>29</sup>

If the lobby for drama in schools was becoming stronger with these new perspectives, more opportunities were also being created to put such ideas into practice.

#### 4.5 Curriculum development

Although drama had become established as a specialism in one or two schools by the time Child Drama was published, the appointment of specialists increased during the 1960's. Whatever inherent value such appointments were seen to have, the opportunity to make them at all arose through the more general mood of curriculum development and reform of the 1960's.

When the Schools Council was established in 1964 following the report of the Lockwood Committee (Ministry of Education: 1964), curriculum development and classroom based research was given a public platform and a level of funding it had not known before in Britain.

Together with the Nuffield Foundation and the National Foundation for Education Research, the Schools Council initiated major development projects in almost all areas of the formal curriculum during the ten years

after its foundation; both generating and taking part in a general mood of curriculum innovation.<sup>30</sup>

In addition to research within recognised subject areas, the gathering speed of comprehensivisation under the Labour Administration of 1964-69 facilitated reforms in the general structure and pattern of school curricula. Where schools were being re-organised, the traditional relationships between subjects could be questioned and new areas of activity more easily introduced (see Chapter Nine).

For some educational progressives the movement to a comprehensive system reflected a broader determination to break down the privileges of social class and to bring about an egalitarian social order. If the private system had been predicated on wealth, the tripartite system of State education had been founded on the assumption of hereditary aptitudes. The eleven plus, rooted as it was in the intelligence testing tradition of Sir Cyril Burt, enforced the notion of innate intelligence levels, rather than social opportunities, as the decisive factor in educational achievement. As such assumptions were questioned (see Chapter Two), so too were some of the academic practices which built on them. The efforts to cater for a wider range of ability and to provide more opportunities for the recognition and promotion of educational attainment led on the one hand, following the recommendations of the Beloe Report of 1960, to the more broadly-based assessment patterns of the C.S.E. examination courses. It also resulted in a proliferation of , non-academic courses in secondary schools; a development reinforced by the raising of the school leaving age (see Chapter Nine).

These were congenial circumstances for the development of expressive activities such as drama. Two other factors also played a significant part in the specific



growth of drama as a specialism. On the one hand, teacher training underwent a transformation during the 1960's; first, due to the extension of courses from two to three years and second, because of the general programme of expansion and building in response to the bulge in the birthrate - now making its way through the upper secondary schools. Drama benefited considerably from the new levels of provision.<sup>31</sup> As greater numbers of students with specialist qualifications left the colleges, so the demands for specialist recognition in the schools increased. On the other, the number of drama advisers was growing. A number of authorities followed Birmingham's example in appointing an adviser for drama. The first drama advisers had been appointed in the 1940's to encourage and assist amateur theatre and other community and recreational activities, in some instances salaried from grants from the Carnegie Trust.<sup>32</sup>

Throughout the 1950's and 1960's advisers were employed directly through education authorities. This meant that instead of working only in adult and further education they could now move into the schools as well.

There can be no doubt that the efforts of the Advisory Service greatly advanced the development of drama in schools. Certainly in those with a tradition of advisory work - Devon, I.L.E.A., the North East, and Yorkshire - drama has now become an established feature of local educational provision. In the context of these general developments, drama in schools made considerable headway during the 1960's. Drama specialists contributed to the expansion of activity, notably in the I.L.E.A. through the work of Maisie Cobby and then of Geoffrey Hodson and, in the North East, through the work of Silas Harvey, the local adviser, and exemplified in the work of Tom Stabler.<sup>33</sup> In particular the work at Newcastle University of Dorothy Heathcote - a former pupil in Bradford of Esme Church - and of Gavin

Bolton at Durham, was becoming deservedly well-known. Together, Heathcote and Bolton have been uncompromising in their efforts to clarify the principles and practice of drama in education. I will be referring to their work at points throughout the thesis.

#### 4.6 Related developments

The expansion of drama during the 1960's, was facilitated by these changes in the organisation and circumstances of formal education. But these changes in themselves do not account for the attraction of drama to the many students who filled the new courses, nor for the schools' interest in employing drama teachers. Why did these circumstantial changes in provision favour drama so well?

The story of drama during the 1930's and 1940's was one of increasing tension between opposing views of the functions of this work in education; one view emphasising the transmission of the 'cultural heritage' and the teaching of formal skills, the other the progressive notions of creative self-expression. The latter view eventually held sway among teachers through the courses and literature of drama teaching during the 1960's. Why?

Chiefly, I think, because the notion of child-centred education, on which this view of drama was predicated, fitted so closely with prominent ideals of the time, especially among young teachers. If there were opportune changes in educational circumstances, they were reciprocating with profound changes in the social mood. The 1960's were by any standard times of turbulent social change, particularly among young people, including, of course, students and student teachers.

Some significant aspects of the changes taking place, of particular relevance to the growth of drama, are

exemplified in two international movements: the Personal Growth Movement and Community Arts.

#### 4.6.1 Personal growth

A common feature of the arguments for self-expression and creative work in schools is a concern for the child's 'life of feeling'. This was not unique to drama teachers of the 1960's. It was as marked in other parts of the curriculum, and especially in English teaching.<sup>34</sup> Philosophically, it also had connections with far-reaching developments outside formal education. The Personal Growth Movement began in America, in the 1940's but mushroomed, first in America and then in Britain, during the 1960's.<sup>35</sup>

'Personal Growth' refers to various sorts of group encounter activities which aim at exploring the relationships between, and increasing the self-knowledge of, the members of the group. Such encounters often make use of role-play techniques, drawing heavily on the pioneering work of Moreno in psychodrama<sup>36</sup> and the theories of gestalt therapists and psychoanalysts.

The common features of encounter and psychodrama are:

- (1) An emphasis on promoting social attitudes such as 'sensitivity' and 'awareness'.
- (2) The use of group activities to explore individual feelings.
- (3) The use of role-play to achieve all of this.

In these three respects the Personal Growth Movement also had a good deal in common with drama teaching. It would be difficult to establish a

direct interaction between drama and Personal Growth, but a consideration of teachers' aims (See Appendix One) in drama certainly indicates common principles and compatible objectives at work. The groundswell in Personal Growth suggests a real demand for what the movement had to sell. Although it had developed out of academic studies into personality and behaviour, group encounter attracted large numbers of paying customers among those who had engaged voluntarily in the search for more rewarding relationships. What lay behind this?

'Individuality' and 'authenticity' were the touchstones of Personal Growth. As one account puts it:

'..... An individual desiring a personal growth experience may consider himself less emotionally, physically or sensually spontaneous than he would like. He may be lonely and find it difficult to communicate honestly with another ..... The values of sensitivity training and group encounter are honesty and the presentation of the authentic self'.

(Schloss, G A et al: 1971, p7)

It would be unwise to generalise too far about the motives which prompted so many individuals to engage in processes as personal as these; but general changes in the social and political landscape certainly played their part. Marx (1967) and Maslow (1968) would find part of the reason for the movement in the economic prosperity of the time which provided the material circumstances for this introspection. But why should large-scale introspection, when it happened, have focussed on personal relationships and individuality in this way?

Herbert Read would have seen it as a response to the dehumanisation of society brought on by industrialisation and advanced technologies. Certainly, the individual finding himself removed from the processes of political control over his own life and alienated from the products of his own labour; exposed to ever widening horizons through the new media and whose roots in community life are loosened by massive social change, is more likely, than his parents or grandparents, to feel a loss of identity and personal significance. It was precisely these that Personal Growth hoped to restore. According to Carl Rogers, the burgeoning of Personal Growth had a base in contemporary social philosophy. It was one expression of the existentialist attitude which rose on the decline of organised religious belief and which

'..... is making itself so pervasively evident in art and literature and modern life ..... The implicit goal of the group process seems to be to live fully in the here and now ..... the parallel with an existential point of view is clear cut'.

(Rogers, C: 1971, p31)

Certainly there was some sort of hedonistic theme to much of the developing youth culture of the 1960's. But, so far from being existentialist, much of the art and literature being produced reflected distinctly metaphysical pre-occupations. If traditional religious structures were being eroded, explorations proliferated into mystic and esoteric religions.

If the rational empiricism of the physical sciences had yielded far-reaching practical

technologies, there was within the youth counter culture a growing interest in para-sciences, extra sensory perception and, especially through drugs, in alternative states of consciousness and in transcendence.<sup>37</sup> (See Chapter Two : 4)

If drama teachers were interested in promoting the personal growth of young people and the exploration of personal potential, they were not alone in the principle. In their introduction to a survey of drama in 1973 John Hodgson and Martin Banham felt that drama was by then no longer a 'fringe subject'. Nor was the drama teacher a poor relation of the school curriculum but the man at the centre of an educational revolution. It was no exaggeration to say that something approaching an educational revolution was in hand. It would be going too far to put the drama teacher at the centre of it. Sweeping changes were taking place all around the drama teacher inside and outside schools. It would be a partial observer who saw even those in schools radiating from the drama studio. If drama was gaining some measure of acceptance as a specialism, it was largely because the principles of progressive education, with which it had become associated, were coming into their own and because drama teachers themselves, in their justifications for what they were doing, either consciously or unconsciously, had taken on the mantle of the time.

#### 4.6.2 Drama in higher education

An important element in these developments was the large post-war generation of young people who were funded for higher education at Universities and Colleges. Many students were taking part in main or subsidiary drama courses and this greatly effected not only drama in schools but the whole pattern of professional theatre.

The first University drama department in England was opened at Bristol in 1947, a Chair being established in 1960. During the 1950's a number of specialist drama colleges were also opened, including Rose Bruford. This was partly as a response to the demand for well-trained and versatile actors which had been generated by the Arts Council's activities in sponsoring regional theatre. In 1952 the Sunday Times joined with the National Union of Students to sponsor the National Student Drama Festival, an annual event ever since. Since then student involvement in drama activities has increased and, at least until the cuts in educational spending of recent years, main courses at Colleges and Universities were well-subscribed. By the 1970's there were drama departments at Exeter, Glasgow, Birmingham, Hull, Manchester and Aberystwyth. Until this expansion, Oxford and Cambridge were the dominant University influences on professional theatre both at Stratford and in London. With the diversification of courses and the new student intake, new ideas about theatre and new types of group began to filter through. The direct result of this in the 1960's, and stimulated by the growth of the Edinburgh Festival, was the development of 'Fringe' and 'Political' Theatre. While experimental groups such as Red Ladder, 7:84 and Pip Simmons investigated new styles of group-devised plays, new venues were opened, from the Traverse in Edinburgh to the Arts Laboratory in Drury Lane, as well as on the national college circuit.

Two significant innovations to emerge from this maelstrom of activity were Theatre-in-Education and Community Theatre.

#### 4.6.3 Children's theatre and Theatre-in-Education

It was ironic perhaps that while drama teachers in schools were pursuing notions of personal development and were eschewing the use of theatre, some quarters of the theatre were taking a keen interest in the work of schools. It was not only teachers who saw the potential of drama for education, nor was drama teaching the only course for those trained in the colleges of education.

Throughout the 1950's and 1960's theatre for children had been resolutely championed by Caryl Jenner at the Unicorn Theatre in Covent Garden and by Brian Way at Theatre Centre in Brent. They had been pressing the Arts Council for funding since its formation but, until 1965, without success. As a result many Children's Theatre Companies, which were established immediately after the war, were subsequently disbanded for lack of money. An Arts Council enquiry, chaired by Hugh Willett reviewed the provision of theatre for young people and recommended in 1965, that £220,000 be injected into the work at once (Arts Council of Great Britain: 1966). During its deliberations the Committee recognised a new undertaking at the Belgrade Theatre in Coventry started at the initiative of Gordon Vallins. He called this Theatre-in-Education.<sup>38</sup>

The Arts Council agreed to fund this new venture. Over the next ten years T.I.E. developed at a pace. In 1974, Bert Parnoby, H.M.I. for Drama, undertook a survey of Actors in Schools and reported that of the companies working in schools during the Spring and Summer terms of 1974:

'..... About 30 ..... are based on a subsidised theatre and receive a grant



from the Arts Council of Great Britain for Young People's Theatre work. The majority of these are Theatre-in-Education Companies'.<sup>39</sup>

(D.E.S.:1976, p7)

The proliferation of these companies provides one index of the involvement in educational issues of a new generation of actors and teachers coming up especially through the courses at Dartington Hall, Central School of Speech and Drama, Trent Park, Bretton Hall, Rose Bruford and The Guildhall. T.I.E. and Children's Theatre should also be seen within the general initiatives in the late 1960's and into the 1970's of Community Arts.

#### 4.6.4 Community arts: cultural elitism and cultural populism

The actor/teachers of the T.I.E. companies do not, and did not, see their work as bringing theatre to new audiences, so much as using theatre as an educational method. Moreover, the point for many teams was to use the arts and education as means of social change. One of the first members of the Belgrade team argued that:

'..... T.I.E. is an attempt to aid children to come to terms with themselves and the society in which they live, in order that they may understand that society and be able to make it what they wish'.

(Pammeter: 1975, p7)

This, as he said, is clearly a difficult aim. But it was a principle which lay beneath the work of

many T.I.E. companies as it did the work of 'political'<sup>40</sup> groups on the professional fringe. During the 1970's the activities of T.I.E. groups diversified and now include work in pubs, clubs, community centres and at local festivals. In this they can be seen as part of the evolution of 'alternative' theatre of the 1960's into the community theatre of the 1970's.

A key theme in this diversification of arts activities during that period was the distinction, soon a dichotomy, between cultural elitism and cultural democracy or populism. In its broad strokes this debate parallels the drama/theatre division of drama teaching. Community arts groups seek, by and large, to encourage local communities to become actively and creatively involved in arts activities and to provide events which reflect local interests and issues. In this, most are critical of the policy of arts support, which they see at the Arts Council of Great Britain for example, which favours 'high art', and the sponsorship of a relatively small number of professional artists catering to the tastes, it is argued, of only a limited section of society (see Chapter Eight). The debate between elitism and populism in the arts was not new in the 1960's<sup>41</sup> nor indeed was the notion of community theatre.<sup>42</sup> It became more pressing due to rapid expansion and the competition for funding by the Arts Council.<sup>43</sup>

The Arts Council, under increasing pressure to divert resources from their traditional clients to these new ventures, funded a fact-finding enquiry into community arts in 1974 to establish how far it came within their remit to support them at all. Was it art? The motive force of community arts was, they recognised, as much social and political as

artistic. Community artists:

'..... believed that the exclusiveness of the established arts has come about through a number of social and historical factors resulting in the virtual disappearance of any living local culture ..... Community arts seek to reaffirm the natural role of culture in our society and to enable far more people to have the chance of expressing themselves through the arts, of appreciating the arts and of increasing their knowledge of art and life'.

(A.C.G.B.: 1977, p4)

The elitism/populism distinction parallels the drama/theatre division in several ways:

- (1) In the emphasis on encouraging active participation in the creative processes of the arts.
- (2) In the principle of 'relevance' - that is of relating what is done to what are seen as the 'needs' of those doing it.
- (3) In the desire to encourage creative, expressive activity and to discourage personal and social passivity.

Both inside and outside schools these notions were attracting both funds and personnel.

During the 1970's the climate of political and economic accountability has severely effected provision and punctured a good deal of the optimism. For drama teachers it has led to considerable pressures to justify what is being done; a pressure which has forced some teachers to return to the very academic procedures which they began by trying to subvert.

## 5 Drama in the 1970's: taking stock

### 5.1 Approval

None of the general curriculum reports of the 1960's gave detailed considerations to the arts, although on the whole, the development of drama was welcomed in those reports which did give it a mention. The Newsom Report of 1963 saw a fruitful relationship between the values of drama teaching and the principles which should inform the whole curriculum. There was more to life, said Newsom, than earning a living and more to becoming an adult than getting a job. The Report called for other activities to be given equal priority in education and high among these,

'..... we should place imaginative experiences through literature, art, music, drama or dancing, which must surely claim a place in their own right'.

(Ministry of Education, 1963: Part One, Para 116)

The Plowden Report of 1967 also saw a place for drama in its own right. The report recognised that for many observers drama was associated with English teaching:

'..... Yet, drama embraces movement, gesture, and mime and these primitive features of drama should be emphasised with young children, especially since plays written for them are usually of indifferent quality and do little to extend their experience'.

(D.E.S.: 1967, Vol. 1, Part V, Para 600)

The Bullock Report (D.E.S. 1975b) saw drama playing an important part in the development of language skills, especially in forging links between the spoken and written languages. The first full D.E.S. report on drama was much less satisfied with what was going on and

it was the relationship between drama and language teaching which concerned the report most.

## 5.2 Doubts

Despite the prodigious activity some observers and practitioners had long been sceptical of the many claims being made on behalf of drama in schools.<sup>44</sup> For some critics, self-expression and creativity were leading to a decline in standards in spoken English. Children were being 'wrapped in cotton wool'.<sup>45</sup> For others, the new forms of drama were wandering too far from the rigours of the art form.<sup>46</sup>

John Allen, H.M.I. for drama and a member of the 1949 Working Party, has long been an advocate of relating expressive drama to traditional theatre forms. In the 1968 D.E.S. Report, he commented roundly on the drift from theatre and the tendency for teachers to ignore the development of language skills. He asked whether:

'..... If we admit that the activities we have described as drama have any educational significance, can we deny that they are also the beginning of a process that ends in Aeschylus, Shakespeare and Ibsen?'

(D.E.S.: 1968, p110)

It was Allen's view that unless this issue was sorted out, the boom in drama was likely to be short-lived. Teachers must say how these expressive activities related to the promotion of formal skills and the understanding of realised art forms. There was a grave danger that the emphasis on improvised drama would create a situation where,

'..... a play is something educationally offensive and the study of a text an undesirable activity except for a lot of eggheads'.<sup>47</sup>

(Ibid., p46)

David Clegg, co-author of *Teaching Drama*, had, by 1973, become one of the severest critics of these notions of self-expression. Yet he doubted that John Allen's understanding of drama and theatre held any solution. Writing in Theatre Quarterly on The Dilemma of Drama in Education, he found it had to accept,

'..... that such a simple view of drama in education retains any currency at all'.

In fact it was the influence of this sort of attitude, 'at some kind of implicit or unconscious level', that had,

'..... successfully prevented any realisation of the rationale behind the massive increase in the facilities for the training of teachers during the last decade'.

(Clegg, D: 1973, p33)

There had long been such disagreements over basic issues within the drama in education community. Yet, as we have seen, during the 1960's the work moved forward none the less, borne on a rising tide of innovation and increased provision. During the 1970's the chiller economic climate and demands for accountability were to give these issues a starker profile for teachers. It was not so much this or that view of drama which began to stand in the way of drama - as Clegg seemed to suggest. The tide itself was on the turn.

### 5.3 Retrenchment and accountability

Seen positively, the contemporary demands from employers and parents for greater accountability in education, are reasonable and fair. They are for:

- adequate teaching of certain basic skills to be guaranteed;

- continuing improvements in the general standards of education;
- adequate information about pupils' achievements and personal potential.

But why have these demands become so especially intense in recent years and what are their implications for drama? Educational accountability is not exclusively, nor perhaps even primarily, an educational issue. It is economic and political. There are four reciprocating themes weaving among the general chorus of accountability.

#### 5.3.1 Disenchantment with progressivism

The Black Papers which appeared first in 1969 and then periodically during the 1970's (Cox, C B and Dyson, A E: 1969) expressed a mood of disenchantment among some politicians and employers with the whole progressive movement in education. They argued that progressive teaching styles were contributing to the apparent erosion of moral standards among young people; to unacceptable levels of attainment in 'basic' skills of literacy and numeracy and to a general decline in educational achievement.<sup>48</sup>

It was partly because of such views that James Callaghan, as Prime Minister, proposed The Great Debate in 1976 (Callaghan, J.P.C.,M.P.: 1976).

#### 5.3.2 The movement to the right

If there was a swing to the liberal and radical left in political life during the 1960's, illustrated in part by the anti-authoritarian, anti-imperialist movements in student politics and exemplified in the events in Paris in 1968, there was during the 1970's and exemplified in the emergence of nationalist and separatist political

groups, a comparable movement to the liberal and radical right.<sup>49</sup>

This is partly expressed in arguments that the standards and mores of British life are being undermined by various elements, from high levels of immigration to the alleged communist allegiances of trade unions. Specifically, for education it has led to criticisms of the whole egalitarian principle of comprehensive education and in the calls for a return to the academic 'traditional' ways of the grammar schools.

If there were nostalgic references in the Black Papers to a supposed golden age of academic achievement, there also ran through them a turbulent undercurrent of political unrest with progressivism. This came to the surface in the furore over William Tyndale. This illustrated that the disenchantment with progressivism was not simply a dispute over pedagogical methods. It included the fear that progressive teachers were motivated by subversive political ideologies.

Drama teaching is exposed to two criticisms in this climate. First, in the forms in which it has been promoted as a specialism, it stands squarely in the progressive camp. Teachers of drama therefore may be called to account for their methods of teaching. Second, in the division between drama and theatre, teachers are open to the criticism of having abrogated responsibilities for passing on the 'cultural heritage' (c.f. Chapter Eight).

### 5.3.3 Economic recession

The determination to cut the rate of public spending, as a general tactic to counter inflation, has been part of the policy of successive governments since



the early 1970's. This has not only meant less money to spend on education, it has prompted calls for a revision of educational priorities, due to a tendency to associate educational policies with poor industrial and commercial performance and with high levels of unemployment, particularly among the young.

As a result, both secondary and tertiary education have been encouraged to relate what they do more closely to the needs of the market. Lord Crowther Hunt, as Minister of State for Higher Education, gave notice of this in 1975. We need to estimate, he said, our likely future needs for different broad categories of trained manpower, drawing from the experience of some of our industrial competitors. Having done that:

'..... we then need to do what we can to advise young people ..... how best they might match their talents and the sort of further education they are considering to the nation's needs'.<sup>50</sup>

He concluded that engineers, scientists and technicians must figure notably among these broad categories and that low economic growth must inevitably speed up the trend of directing higher education towards the 'application of knowledge'. More recently Dr Rhodes Boyson has also questioned the wisdom, within present government policies, of sponsoring high numbers of students on arts courses in higher education.<sup>51</sup>

For parents, whether or not they are concerned with the Country's economic performance, the threat to their children of long-term unemployment is real enough. They too expect the schools to ensure that young people are qualified to compete for jobs.

#### 5.3.4 Falling rolls

One of the initial reasons for cutting back on educational spending was a decline in the early 1970's in the overall school population. The downward trend in the birthrate, which began in 1964, became a sharp decline by the early 1970's.<sup>52</sup> This has been used to justify some of the general cuts in spending as they affect the schools. It has also had significant effects on provision for teacher training. In addition to the more academic bias of courses, harbingered by the introduction of the B. Ed., the raw numbers of courses have been stepped down.

If initial courses in the colleges of education proliferated during the 1960's, they contracted just as surely during the 1970's. Where does all of this leave drama?

### 6 The need for clarification

There has been controversy about the nature and functions of drama in schools from the very first attempts to bring it within the formal curriculum. The current climate of accountability has not stimulated the process of self-questioning in drama teaching, but it has made it more intense and urgent. The reduction in the numbers of courses and their increased academic leanings result from external pressures rather than from developments within drama teaching itself. These academic pressures are also intensifying in the schools. Parents may wonder in the present climate of recession, whether there is a value in their children taking arts courses at all, especially if they do not intend making a living from them when they leave school. And, for those arts courses which do attract students, there is still the mounting pressure of accountability. The general tendency is for pressures of public accountability to be transmitted to education through the public examination system. There has, in fact,

been an increase in drama examinations in schools in recent years and once again this is often due to external rather than internal demands. (See Chapter Nine).

Any discussion of drama in schools, by virtue of these contextual constraints and pressures, must be set, therefore, in a broad frame. The process of self-questioning for teachers may not have been set in motion by current demands but it must certainly take account of them now. I want to argue that this does not mean simply finding ways of validating attainment in drama which comply with various external criteria. It means reconsidering some of the most basic assumptions upon which the use of drama has developed in schools over the past fifteen years.

## 7 Summary

In this chapter I have outlined the main pattern of development of drama in schools in relation to three main phases. I have argued that general conceptions of drama have diversified during the course of this and that a central issue has become the relationship between drama and theatre. This represents general issues to do with the relationships between progressive and traditional education, self-expression and cultural transmission.

Drama in schools has, in these ways, interacted with, not stood apart from, more general social changes; the lively and widespread amateur theatre movement of the 1930's reciprocating with the growth of theatre-based activities in schools; the growth of 'self-expression' and 'creativity' matching in turn an increasing interest in subjective experience and the life of feeling in society as a whole. Latterly, the social mood has changed further with demands for schools to look again at principles and practices which in the expansionary years of the 1960's were often unquestioned. In the next chapter I want to analyse some of these as they bear on the

development of drama and its current practice: specifically, those of progressive education and of individualism.

## CHAPTER TWO

### KEY ISSUES IN DRAMA IN SCHOOLS

#### (1) Reasons for the chapter

(i) To identify the main assumptions underpinning the expansionary phase of drama - the 1950's and 1960's - as it developed into a specialism.

(ii) To isolate the central issues to which, in the climate of accountability, an adequate and workable theory must be addressed.

#### (2) Individualism: intrinsic and extrinsic aims

When state education began in Britain, the aims of the system were overtly instrumental; to provide a literate and numerate work-force as an essential national resource. The aims of education were seen as extrinsic to the process of educating.<sup>1</sup> During this century, and especially since the Second World War, many educationalists have argued for education to be seen as an end in itself, abstracted from the direct demands of the market. The aims of education should be intrinsic.

Philosophers of education in particular have been anxious to distinguish in these terms between education and training, arguing indeed that the pursuit of extrinsic aims is incompatible with the very concept of education.<sup>2</sup>

They might have argued to little effect along these lines but for the growing liberalism in educational thought and in British society as a whole. The 1944 Education Act, welcomed by all the major political parties of the day, determined to provide education for all of a type which accorded with different individual aptitudes and capacities. In this it endorsed and expressed the increasingly accepted ethic of a

social meritocracy. Equality of educational opportunity was to be met moreover with 'parity of esteem' for those being educated in their different ways at the grammar, technical and modern schools.<sup>3</sup> Centring the education system on the development of individual abilities was seen from some points of view as an essential step on the road to an egalitarian, classless society.<sup>4</sup>

Whatever political consequences may be seen for it, the liberal view essentially sees the individual as the primary, and society as the secondary beneficiary of state education. In practice, of course, this kind of thinking has had most impact on primary education where the external demands of the economy are in any case more remote and less direct. If its popularity in secondary schools has been less spectacular it is largely for the opposite reason. The development of drama in education - edging in first through primary and independent schools and less convincingly in secondaries - is an exemplar of this tension between intrinsic and extrinsic aims in state education. Nevertheless, the general principle of individualism, even if it has not been ruthlessly pursued in practice, has been constant both to the tripartite system and to the comprehensive system which still seeks to replace it. And as a principle it was an important factor in the meritocratic/egalitarian equation of a good deal of progressive education in the 1960's. It would be wrong, however, to confuse progressive education with individualism in general or to identify drama entirely with either. The development of drama, especially as a specialism, can only really be associated with certain aspects of each. It is important for what follows to say what these aspects are.

'Progressive education' has lost much of its usefulness as a term. Because of over-use, it tends now to suggest a unified movement of some sort. It implies homogeneity in what are often very different attitudes and practices in schools. None the less, it does call up some important developments in

curriculum and teaching styles which have a direct bearing on drama and I will return to these later. I want first to distinguish two broad conceptions of individualism: the 'rational' and the 'natural'. In relation to this I want to offer a perspective on the central controversies of drama teaching in the past, especially drama and theatre; to pick out the pressing issues in contemporary work and to isolate some key assumptions in all of this.

These two paradigms posit different views of what individuality consists in. I am distinguishing them only as markers within a complex web of ideas and attitudes. As types, however, they have very different implications for both the status and praxis of drama teaching. They point to different forms of teaching within the lesson and point the whole process of drama in different directions; either towards the centre of the school curriculum or to its periphery.

### (3) The rational individual

Within this paradigm the individual is seen as becoming an autonomous agent in the world through organising his/her actions and knowledge by means of a capacity for disciplined rational thought. It is through this capacity that the most reliable understandings of him/herself and of the material world can be yielded up. The rational individual, that is, is conceived of as possessing certain qualities of mind, and these are what education should seek to promote.<sup>5</sup>

Two major influences on the evolution of the rational paradigm were the formulation of the principles of the inductive method, first set down in the 17th century by Francis Bacon<sup>6</sup> and subsequently by John Stuart Mill,<sup>7</sup> and of the empirical method in philosophy emerging from Descartes'<sup>8</sup> cogito.

The Cartesian dualism of mind and matter criticised naive reliance on sensory perception of the material world, asserting that the mind alone, acting critically and introspectively, could furnish true knowledge. If individuals have varied widely in their responses to the philosophical problems suggested by Descartes' analysis, modern philosophy has none the less been built upon them.

The empiricism of an inductive scientist is, of course, rather different to that of a post Cartesian philosopher. As Susanne Langer (1951) has noted, where Cartesian empiricism was essentially sceptical and sought to question the evidence of the senses, scientific empiricism became increasingly positivist and took such evidence as its raw material. If philosophy did not give birth to science, scientific 'truth' soon became associated, none the less, with the notion of empirically verified fact.<sup>9</sup>

For all their diversity in other ways, these approaches to the formulation of knowledge have two important characteristics in common.

- (i) They are essentially intellectual; that is, they are based on the assumption that objective, discursive reason, is the principal means of acquiring knowledge.
- (ii) They emphasise objectivity as a procedural criterion; that is, the notion that the process of making judgements can and should be held apart from the influences of social beliefs, cultural values and the world of feeling.

For Darwin, and for those who followed, religious convictions, intuition and emotion were non-rational and were therefore potential sources of error. To come upon reliable knowledge the individual should be impersonal, as it were,



in tracking it down. These assumptions have reached into almost every field of organised enquiry and with comparable effects.

In the natural sciences, such as biology, they have led to a rejection of vitalist assumptions concerning the processes of living forms, and the emergence in place of them of 'mechanist' approaches. A reasoning biological science should make no a priori metaphysical assumptions, it is held, but should seek to account for the origins and functions of life in purely material terms. 'Natural Selection', the centrepiece of Darwinian theory, remains a prime example of this view.

In the human sciences, such as psychology, there was in the 19th and early 20th centuries, a basic and comparable rejection of all forms of transcendentalism. Watson and the pioneer behaviourists, including Skinner and Pavlov,<sup>10</sup> set out to examine human behaviour in ways which specifically set aside all appeals to immaterial spirits or entelechies.

And in modern philosophy, the influence of rational, logical processes of thought has been equally profound. Modern philosophers, especially, for example, the Oxford School of Logical Positivists of the 1930's and the formal conceptual analysis of the present day have tended to put aside metaphysical preoccupations, emphasising the powers of logic and the 'impartial' intellect above those of personal intuition and organised belief. In each of these areas, knowledge has come to be seen as being acquired and formulated by 'rational' individuals acting within conventionalised frameworks of objective procedures. Theoretical models of education deriving the rational paradigm have three important characteristics.

### 3.1 The education of mind

Rational individualism posits a mental culture view of education. That is, education should consist principally of procedures and processes which promote a rational state of mind. R. S. Peters, a staunch advocate of the rationalist view of education, argues that 'an educated man is distinguished not so much by what he does as by what he 'sees' or 'grasps'. Education, therefore, relates 'to some sort of process in which a desirable state of mind develops' (Peters: 1973, p96 and 85).<sup>11</sup>

Paul Hirst, who along with Peters has been a dominant influence on British philosophy of education, also sees the promotion of the rational mind as the exclusive concern of an education properly conceived. Education, for Hirst, is determined 'in scope and content by knowledge itself'. It is thereby centrally concerned 'with the development of mind' (Hirst: 1965, p125).

### 3.2 Objectivity and bodies of knowledge

Traditional epistemologies posit knowledge as substantive, consisting in abstract structures each of which relates to particular areas of experience and each with its own characteristic content, problems, procedures and rules of discourse. Paul Hirst (1969) writes, for example, of nine forms of knowledge, or cognitive structures - mathematics, human sciences, physical sciences, history, fine arts, literature, morals, religion and philosophy - each of which is overlapping but which contains elements which are irreducible to the rest.

The individual acquires such knowledge through the power of the rational mind, becoming more rational in the process. Rationality, that is, is achieved through the acquisition of knowledge; but knowledge has an

objective status of its own, conforming to impersonal, intrinsic, structural rules. Peters emphasises, with Plato, 'the necessity for, and objectivity of, standards written into the content of education'. The essential feature of education consists in 'experienced persons turning the eye outwards to what is essentially independent of persons'. We should mark, he says, 'the enormous importance of the impersonal content and procedures which are enshrined in public traditions'. (1973, pp 99 and 102).

### 3.3 Transmission and initiation

Within this paradigm the teacher's role is to initiate children into the forms and procedures of public knowledge and to transmit the skills, the rules of discourse and the public criteria of verification which are appropriate to each. Whatever else schools may do, this is their main business.

'If once the central objectives of rationality are submerged or are given up so that ..... other pursuits take over, then I suggest that the school has betrayed its educational trust, no matter how successful it may be in other respects, and no matter how laudable these other ends may be in themselves.'

(Hirst: 1969, p 153)<sup>12</sup>

Although it would be wrong to identify rational individualism with the academic traditions of private and state education in Britain - teachers working within these traditions need not have individualism as an aim - there is nevertheless a clear sympathy between the rationalist view, with its general assumptions about the structure and status of knowledge, and the forms of traditional, subject-based curricula.

#### 4 The natural individual

Natural individualism can be seen, to some extent, as a reaction against the rational paradigm. Certainly its implications for education are quite different. Within this paradigm, every child is considered to be, by nature, an individual. Each child has innate potentialities and characteristics which distinguish him/her from others and in terms of which he/she is unique. The task for education is to provide the sorts of opportunities by which these individual qualities can be developed and 'drawn out', and to avoid suppressing them with the imposed values and understandings of the adult world. Education should not be knowledge-based but child-centred.

Like those of the rational paradigm, the social and ideological roots of natural individualism run deep. They are bedded, as variants on a theme, in the same groundswell of individualism which has gathered in the West since the 17th century. But where the rational model derives most obviously from the intellectual and scientific revolutions of the 17th century, natural individualism is more evidently seated in 18th century Romanticism.

Rousseau, and later Froebel, Montessori and Dewey base their educational writings on the assumption that children should be allowed to grow, following a natural pattern of personal development, rather than a standard course of instruction.<sup>13</sup>

Like a sculptor, the teacher is encouraged, within the naturalist view, to follow the natural grain of the child's personality and interests, slowly revealing the individual within.

Natural individualism, far more than that of the rational paradigm, is clearly represented in the aims of drama

teachers. Characteristically, there is a central concern not only with intellectual development but with emotional and physical growth. It is in this sense that the naturalist attitude gained ground in education during the 1950's and 1960's, seeming to represent at the same time a more complete and a more egalitarian conception of education than either the traditional or rational models.

An education which is centred on the promotion of rationality, it is held, is pursued at the expense of those other qualities - feelings, intuition, aesthetic sensibility and creativity - which make individuals human. Concentrating on the transmission of all that is impersonal, endangers the development of those personal potentialities which make each individual unique.

Naturalist models of education have the following characteristics.

#### 4.1 Education of the whole person

Natural individualism posits a personal development view of education. Education should principally consist of processes and procedures which promote the expression and maturation of individual qualities and sensibilities across the whole range of potentialities. Individuals should be valued for their varied capacities and education should be concerned with identifying and nurturing these. The whole person, and not just the mind, should be attended to.

#### 4.2 Subjectivity and self-expression

Individualism is so personalised within this paradigm as to make it tautological to say so. Self-knowledge is equal in importance to knowledge of the external world. Respecting and exploring subjective states - feelings, moods and private perceptions - are crucial

elements here. Providing opportunities for the exercise of imagination and for expressing the self are key techniques.

#### 4.3 'Eduction' <sup>14</sup>

The teacher's role is to draw out the individual in every child. He/she is not so much an initiator or transmitter of knowledge as a manager of experiences; a facilitator who creates appropriate, educational environments. The teaching of formal skills, especially if done too soon, can create unneeded difficulties, inhibit motivation and hamper expressive and creative activity by breeding self-consciousness. Spontaneity is essential. In the early stages at least, the teacher should encourage impulsive expressiveness and avoid conventionalised standards of judgement.

### 5 Young pupils and the pupal child

The point I want to infer from these paradigms<sup>15</sup> - which are intended here to be descriptive rather than prescriptive - is that, despite common concerns with the general notion of individualism in education, they suggest quite different sorts of relationship between teachers and taught, quite different contents for the curriculum and a different style of education.

For the rationalist, every child is an individual pupil; one who learns the skills and forms of public knowledge. For the naturalist, however, the child is a pupal individual; one who will mature and grow as a result of the teacher raising the emotional temperature of the classroom.

They do have in common one characteristic, however, which it is important to emphasise. Both present a view of the

individual which is a-social. On the one hand, the individual grows out of social and institutional constraints and becomes autonomous by virtue of the objective powers of rationality. On the other, personal uniqueness is an inherent quality which will emerge and mature provided the individual is given enough psychic space in which to grow. The point is to relieve the social pressures for a time so as to enfranchise the spirit.

There are a number of corollaries of these distinctions which help to contextualise the key issues facing drama in education.

## 6 Corollaries

### 6.1 'Traditional' and 'progressive' education

Teachers of drama, as I will show, have normally formulated their aims on naturalist assumptions. Moreover, the methods they have come to use, influenced as they are by theories of child development, liberal philosophy and enactive learning, associate them with 'progressive' rather than 'traditional' teaching styles.

These terms are not synonymous, however, with the distinction I have suggested between natural and rational individualism. The whole notion of individualism - however long its line in private education - is in itself a departure from the founding principle of the state system of extrinsic aims.

But, although liberal education philosophy has contributed to progressive education, it is still distinguishable from it. The hall-mark of liberal education is individualism; or, more properly, the emphasis on intrinsic rather than instrumental aims and the abstraction of education from market pressures. Progressive education goes some way further than this

and marks fundamental revisions in the relations between teacher and taught. It is a shift, in Bernstein's (1971) terms in the relative strengths of the classification and framing of educational knowledge and experience.

The strong classification of the traditional curriculum is compatible with rational individualism with its emphasis on discrete bodies of knowledge. So, too, is the strong framing of the teaching, complying as it does with the notions of objective procedures and the teacher as transmitter. Strong classification and framing can co-exist with liberal educational views. The difference is one of intention.

Natural individualism, on the other hand, requires more extensive change. The term 'progressivism' suggests some of these changes but there is a genuine need for caution here. 'Progressivism' is often used in a 'soft' sense, simply to imply the use of enactive learning techniques or the principle of 'starting from the children's interests'. In this sense the changes are merely strategic. It is quite possible for teachers to pursue the traditional aims of instruction using some of the techniques of progressivism - a kind of traditionalism by stealth. Progressivism in the hard sense goes well beyond strategic change.

Progressive educators are characteristically concerned with developing the full range of children's abilities. In other words, progressivism builds more obviously on naturalist than rational assumptions of individuality. In practice, this implies a movement from strong to weaker classification and framing of educational knowledge. Such a transition involves fundamental changes in the power structures of educational encounters between teachers and taught.



The relinquishing of the role of transmitter, accordingly, represents an interrupter system in the traditional forms - strong classification and frames - of cultural reproduction through education.<sup>16</sup>

Where rationalist attitudes are compatible with traditional academic approaches and may escape popular criticism, naturalist approaches tend to reject them and therefore to rouse suspicions of falling standards and/or cultural subversion.

It is not individualism as such which is at issue in this; this is, after all, a dominant social and political concept of Western thought. It is the type of individuals progressive teachers might have in mind.

In theory, then, rational individualism presents a less radical proposition for educational institutions, where it can be pursued within strongly classified curricula and apparently lend itself to objective procedures of evaluation. Natural individualism on the other hand, has profound implications for curriculum patterning and, due to its emphasis on the personal and the subjective, for conventional modes of assessment.

In practice, of course, the picture is, as always, not so clear-cut. Just because theoretical distinctions can be abstracted from practice, it does not mean that they are neatly observed in all that actually goes on. I described these paradigms as markers in a complex web of ideas, and so they are. One of the problems for drama teachers is that they tend to straddle the two in an often uncomfortable way. In saying that drama teachers fall theoretically within the natural paradigm, I mean that that is where their stated aims place them now. Historically, drama teachers have not always been

identifiable with naturalist attitudes nor with progressivism.

Caldwell Cook in setting down his maxims for teachers (see Chapter One:3.2.2) shows himself to have been a naturalist at heart. He was calling, in the Playway, for more relaxed teaching styles and more flexible curricula. Play and the dramatic method would, he believed, provide an organising principle for these new styles of education. His concern was as much with the atmosphere and context of teaching as with its content. The prevailing model of drama during the 1920's and 1930's, however, was firmly one of cultural reproduction buttressed by formal discipline and skills of performance.<sup>17</sup>

The 1949 Working Party clearly stated the need to see drama as an integral part of the school curriculum rather than simply appended to it in an ad hoc way. In two ways, however, the committee seem to see drama both in traditional - i.e. cultural reproduction - and rationalist terms. They insist, first, on the integrity of the art form as a key feature of the cultural heritage. The curriculum with which they associate it is one where boundaries are strongly maintained. Although they argue for drama to be used in other subjects, their vision is of a co-ordinated, rather than of an integrated curriculum. Second, in seeing the work of the great masters as suitable only for the more able children of the grammar school, they make clear the pre-eminent role they attach to intellectual responses to works of art.

The Speech and Drama movement of the 1930's and 1940's was mostly consistent with this attitude. It was not until the 1950's and 1960's, when more general social

and educational changes were afoot, that progressivism began to gather speed and that drama teachers, under the influence of Child Drama, took up the naturalist view in significant numbers. The curriculum changes of the 1960's provided the material circumstances for the experiments in curriculum integration and the loosening up of teaching styles that a hard core progressivism demands. For all of this, these very naturalist/individualist assumptions have had a high cost, in a number of ways, for both the efficacy and the credibility of drama, especially in secondary schools.

## 6.2 Theory and ideology

I described these paradigms as ideological. In what ways, then, do they relate to what is actually going on in classrooms? The relations between theory and practice are rarely direct or immediate. Most teachers do not have much time - literally - for exploring the welter of theory about education. There is also a common pragmatic view in staffrooms that teaching can only be learnt on the job and not from the mouths of theorists. These practical conditions mean that there can be a considerable time lapse between the formulation of a theory and its affecting work in schools; that is when it happens at all. A good deal of formal theory, after all, stays in relative oblivion. Nevertheless, from the expanding archives of speculation in all areas of enquiry, not just in education, certain theories suddenly seem to seize popular imagination. This is despite the fact that at any given moment there may be several, or a host, of theories addressed to the same issues, each being consistent with the observed facts and, in terms of their own internal logic, just as plausible as the next one. Political theories provide a useful example of this. On what grounds do some rise to prominence over others?

It is not always because their formulation is better timed. Naturalist attitudes have been around in education since the 18th century, at least. But they made little impact on state education, especially at the secondary level, until the 1950's and 1960's, when they experienced a relatively sudden popularity. Similarly, the intelligence testing and psychometric theories of Sir Cyril Burt<sup>18</sup> for example and of Ralph Tyler<sup>19</sup> held the attention of educationalists against all-comers during the 1940's and into the early 1960's. Certainly they had to compete eventually with the growing chorus of critics of selective education which eventually rose against them; but for a time they were an accepted orthodoxy. The erratic delays between the formulation and the implementation of theories indicates that whatever principle governs theoretical fashion it is not reducible to the progressive and incremental emergence of new and better information. Other factors are at work.<sup>20</sup>

Theories may be formulated out of the esoteric interests of this or that party, but when they are popularly taken up, it is not just because they are available: it is because they are needed. Theories, in practice, have a number of functions. Clearly enough they are intended to be heuristic and to be interpretive of problematic phenomena; but, in an important sense, theory is also expressive. Naturalist theories were influential in the 1950's and 1960's not only because they were consistent with the facts of education and learning as they then appeared, but because they expressed a mood among a generation of educators; just as psychometric theories previously tallied with, and supported, the discriminatory mood of the tripartite system. The significance of theory, in this respect, is not only intellectual: it is ideological.

There is an important distinction between theory and ideology. Teachers may avoid one, but they cannot escape the other.<sup>21</sup>

Formal theory consists in explicit patterns of ideas which are intentionally related to illuminating problems of understanding or explaining selected phenomena. Theory is deliberately undertaken and its functions are heuristic, interpretative and, I have suggested, expressive. It is an abstraction from the phenomena it attends to and it is recognised to be so by those who use it. In the theoretical attitude, the scientist, the sociologist, the philosopher, educator or whoever, seeks intentionally to analyse and generalise about practice.

Ideology, however, is often unrecognised. By ideology, I mean the inferential structures of values and beliefs which constitute, for any person, what Polanyi (1969) has called, his/her 'tacit' knowledge and understanding of the world. These act together to create what Alfred Schutz (1967 and 1972) describes as an individual's 'taken-for-granted' view of reality; his/her 'natural conception' of the ways things are.<sup>22</sup>

Susanne Langer (1951) points to the ways in which theorising may be oblivious to the tacit constraints of ideology. Theories develop within a framework of questions. And a question, as Langer notes, is really an ambiguous proposition; the answer is its determination. Its sense can only be completed in a certain number of ways. For this reason, the most important characteristic of a theoretical system is its 'disposition of problems,' as revealed in the questions to which it is directed. This, rather than the explanations it provides, reveals the underlying

principles of analysis. In Whitehead's words in  
Science and the Modern World:

'There will be some fundamental assumptions which advocates of all the variant systems within an epoch unconsciously pre-suppose'..... With these assumptions a certain limited number of types of philosophic system are possible'.

(Whitehead: 1925 Quoted in Langer: 1951, pl6)

These deep-seated dispositions constitute an ideological stance and set the implicit boundaries of explicit theory by disposing the theorist to this or that set of issues. If our explanations are theoretical, that is, our questions are ideological.<sup>23</sup>

In this sense, the paradigms of rational and natural individualism represent ideological rather than theoretical groupings.

Although teachers in the classroom may consider themselves anti- or a-theoretical, they cannot be un-ideological. Like everyone else, they act on their understandings, tacit or otherwise, about the way things are; and about how they are in relation to them.

I have been making two points here. First, that theory is used when it is needed, and often to support practice. Second that even where practitioners apparently avoid theory, they cannot, for as long as it is unquestioned, escape the boundaries of ideology. I want now to make two further points arising from this.

First, that theory, ideology and practice are dialectically related; and, second, that because of this, pure theory suffers a good deal of corruption in practice.

### 6.3 Emotions and intellect

#### 6.3.1 The academic curriculum

The interaction of theory and ideology is aptly illustrated by the controversy over selection at 11 plus. In Intelligence Testing and the Comprehensive School, Brian Simon (1953) launched an attack on the fundamental principles and procedures of testing at 11 plus. The principle of selection - to distribute children to schools which accorded with individual abilities and aptitudes - depended in practice on finding reliable ways of identifying and appraising, for each child, what those abilities and aptitudes were.

Simon, and others<sup>24</sup> argued against the hereditarian thesis within which psychometrists such as Cyril Burt had built their systems. These took no account, it was said, of the influences of socialisation and educational opportunity. More ominously though, the whole system harboured an evident contradiction. In purporting to check on abilities across the full range, intelligence testing self-evidently monitored only a narrow strip; high scores relying to a large extent on standardised lexical and logical operations. For most children the process was one of negative selection. A few 'passed' and went to the grammar schools - and according to Simon, sifting these children out was the real function of the test - and the rest 'failed' and were sent by default to the secondary moderns. Intelligence testing was elitist, demoralising for the majority, determinist and politically circular. As Simon saw it, that was the intention and therefore the danger.<sup>25</sup>

Simon's attack therefore was not merely on the theoretic integrity of psychometric testing, but on the ideological structures which it was used to buttress.

'There could hardly have been a better recipe for maintaining the status quo in educational organisation and method - and at a time when the rumblings of an approaching technological revolution were getting ever nearer and louder.'

(Simon: 1978, p10)

Changing attitudes to intelligence testing was therefore more than a matter of pointing out theoretical inconsistencies. On the one hand, as he noted, it is easier to defend the status quo in education than to make a viable case for change when this involves embarking on a relatively untried road. Moreover, when this entails a challenge to minority privileges.

'From here it is a small step to the assertion that political aims are shaping policy when only educational considerations should operate. Thus educational change is discredited by those who would like to keep things as they are - as if this were not in itself an essentially political stance.'

(Ibid., p9)

But on the other hand, and of some significance here, there was the problem of challenging scientific opinion. The procedures of intelligence testing gained the status they did because, for a considerable time, it was popularly assumed,



'that they ..... must be above reproach, or beyond social influences, conceived in the rarefied atmosphere of purely scientific enquiry by some process of immaculate conception.'

(Ibid., p10)

If science had attracted a popular name for clinical objectivity and unbiased truth, it was perhaps because it had long been laying claim to it; and because its results in many areas, especially in practical technology, had been so spectacular. But if Simon was critical of the authority of the scientific attitude, a good many others in education were becoming critical of some of its other aspects. I suggested that naturalist models of education, which markedly affected drama teaching during the 1950's and 1960's, were to some extent a reaction against rationalism. There was in the 1950's and 1960's a widespread reaction of this type. This was not only expressed in educational controversies but was also implicated in changes in what Raymond Williams (1971) would call the 'structure of feeling' of the time.

Like Brian Simon, Herbert Read, in his address to the Royal Festival Hall in 1957 (see Chapter One) was critical of narrow academicism of the secondary school curriculum; but the force of his attack was against what he saw as the sheer sterility of education which was resulting. A system which was based on economic and technological imperatives would lead inexorably to the de-humanisation and reification of persons.

Like Peter Slade and Brian Way he hoped for a re-assertion of human values, of subjective

qualities. State education was predicated on the promotion and measurement of intellectual abilities. It now urgently needed to do something about the rest of the child, including the emotions. Somewhere within this differently - biased ideology of education there was an important role for the arts.

### 6.3.2 Rationalising feeling

Rational epistemologies and systems of analysis accommodate rather than incorporate the life of feeling. The consequences of this are profound for the arts and particularly for attempts to establish them in schools on the grounds of emotional growth. Subjectivity is accommodated in two main ways: it is either set to one side or rationalised about. In the search for objective knowledge in the non-human sciences, emotions, value systems, beliefs and feelings are characteristically judged to disrupt the process of rational enquiry and to be minimised or set aside. In the human sciences, especially psychology, the pioneering theorists, notably Freud, looked on emotions and intuitive impulses as epi-phenomena of rationality and susceptible of rational explanation. Freud's psychology is squarely based on mechanist assumptions, proposing a conception of the mind as a mental apparatus for engaging the individual with the external world. In maintaining this commerce the ego functions according to the 'reality principle'. As part of the secondary process activity, the rational tendencies of the ego attempt to synchronise mental states with external events. In this, the ego has to resist the hedonistic impulses of the id, and the moralistic processes of the super-ego. Maintaining a rational stance

is, therefore, dependent on controlling complex interactions of psychic drives. The individual's sense of reality is easily disrupted if this equilibrium is disturbed and the ego loses its grip, giving way either to the instinctual drives of the id or to the repressive tendencies of the ego-ideal or conscience.

This conception of instinct and value systems in potential conflict with rationality renders up what is, in effect, a negative psychology of affect. Moreover, within the Freudian system, artistic activity compensates for the failure by individuals, due to repressions, to discharge psychic energy in appropriate object-cathexes. Thus the arts are seen as sublimations: non-rational and remedial.<sup>26</sup>

In calling for the arts to be seen as essential and central parts of education, therefore, Read, Arnaud Reid, Slade and the rest, were confronting deep-seated educational and psychological assumptions of the rationalist tradition. The arts, and, by association, the life of feeling had a positive not a negative function in individual development; were abilities not liabilities.

It was precisely this exertion of feeling which was illustrated by the Personal Growth movement which was gathering during the 1950's and 1960's. Post-Freudian psychologists, notably Jung (1933) and R. D. Laing (1965), have criticised the repressive tendencies of Freudian theory. Laing's primary objections are to the mechanistic assumptions of Freud, and their reification of the individual subject.<sup>27</sup>

For Laing, this is more than a theoretical mistake. It is an ethical corruption. As such it is symptomatic of a more general malaise.

'Our civilisation represses not only the 'instincts' not only sexuality but any form of transcendence. Among one-dimensional men it is not surprising that someone with an insistent experience of other dimensions, that he cannot entirely deny or forget, will run the risk of either being destroyed by the others or of betraying what he knows.'

(Laing: 1965, p11)

For Laing, the answer within psychology is to press for systems of analysis which are addressed to the persons total being-in-the world; for an existential psychology. It was indeed the search for existential meaning which, for Carl Rogers, motivated individuals to become voluntarily engaged in Personal Growth. They were seeking to fill, what Viktor Frankl, calls, 'the existential vacuum'.

'What I mean thereby is the experience of a total lack, or loss, of an ultimate meaning to one's existence that would make life worthwhile. The consequent void, the state of inner emptiness, is at present one of the major challenges to psychiatry.'

(Frankl: 1970, p71)

Carl Jung saw the roots of this insecurity - if not neurosis - in the erosion of religious beliefs brought on by the new epistemologies of science and technology. He wrote in 1933 that:

'During the past thirty years people from all the civilised countries of

the earth have consulted me .....  
 Among all my patients in the  
 second half of life - that is to  
 say, over thirty five - there has  
 not been one whose problem in the  
 last resort was not one of finding  
 a religious outlook on life. It is  
 safe to say that every one of them  
 fell ill because he had lost that  
 which the living religions of every  
 age have given their followers, and  
 none of them has been really healed  
 who did not regain his religious  
 outlook.'

(Jung: 1933, p264)

However that may be, the search through Personal Growth and through existential psychology, certainly centres on the search for meanings; especially through more understanding, more subjective relationships with others. The sheer expression of subjectivity was a key element in the international youth culture of the 1960's. The exertion of individuality, the reformulation of values and the search, especially through alternative and mystic religions, for experiences of transcendence, were characteristics of the changing disposition of the time. These changes in ideology brought with them, and favoured, different theoretical attitudes, such as Laing's in psychology, to those which were purely mechanistic. It was in the context of these ideological shifts that theories in the naturalist traditions of child-centredness were drawing the interest, among others, of drama teachers.

#### 6.4 Marking the ground

These general developments are significant in four main ways for contextualising the expansion, and the present position, of drama in schools.

#### 6.4.1 Emotion versus intellect

Within both the rational and natural paradigms, emotion and intellect tend, for different reasons, to be seen as antipathetic. For the rationalist, as we have seen, the emotions can disrupt clear, objective thinking. For the naturalist too much objectivity is dehumanising. In education, children should be treated as subjects not objects. They should be encouraged to express what they feel, not just be told what to think.

#### 6.4.2 Arts versus science

In the terms of these distinctions, the arts have become associated with the expression of subjective states of feeling and with the exercise of imagination: the sciences with detached enquiry and intellectual skills. Brian Simon's characterisation of the popular image of scientific method accurately reflects this. This is the view of the scientist as someone who pursues logically conceived hypotheses through impersonally conducted experiment finally setting down what is objectively known. The artist, as against this, is pictured as an expressor of emotion and reporter of personal perceptions, acting on impulse to record what he/she feels.

Thus the artist and the scientist are seen to be operating in different ways, and in different areas, of experience; the one creative, expressive and imaginative and the other methodical, guarded and standing apart.

In such terms teachers of the arts may be cast - and certainly some drama teachers cast themselves - as educators of the emotions, catering for those

aspects of personal development which are seemingly ignored by the academic curriculum.<sup>28</sup> The consequences for the curriculum of this general carve-up of responsibilities are profound.

#### 6.4.3 Centre or periphery?

On one view the arts, because of their being associated with feelings, are central to the whole business of education and should be at the heart of the curriculum. On the other, for the same reason, they are peripheral and command low priority.<sup>29</sup>

### 6.5 A conflict of interests

There are evident and profound ideological differences between teachers. These greatly affect what happens in classrooms by shaping the style and posture of the teaching. But the conduct of education is not solely based on educational considerations, ideological or otherwise. Extrinsic aims have a crucial bearing on what goes on. Some of these come from outside the institutional framework of education. Some extrinsic aims are, so to speak, internal to it - those of professional status and ambition.

#### 6.5.1 External pressures

For all the philosophy of liberal education and of child-centredness, state education is intended, on all sides, to meet vocational and economic interests. The accountability movement is a re-assertion of these interests. Meeting them is still largely associated with academic achievements as expressed in examination performance.

External pressures thus tend to work against non-academic activities. Drama in schools expanded in the 1960's partly in reaction to academicism. In practice, the pressures to maintain academic standards have had direct effects on drama teaching and on its status. First, they have created difficulties for teachers trying to establish drama across the whole age range of secondary schools. Primary schools, being remote from market demands, are relatively free to experiment. Secondary schools, despite the changes we have considered, have never been emancipated in this way. As a result, drama has gained the firmest footing in the lower years of secondary school and only a tenuous hold on the upper years. Nor has the association of drama with non-academic activity brought the hoped-for spread of such activities across the whole ability range. More often it has led to drama being associated with the non-academic child, for whom, for whatever reason, academic and vocational pressures are relaxed; often those categorised as 'less able' or 'remedial'.

#### 6.5.2 Internal pressures

The association of drama with progressivism, and thus with moves towards integrated curricula, has also been more striking in primary schools. But, although the greater external pressures on secondary schools have critical effects on what is taught, the general strength of curriculum boundaries is due as much to internal pressures. A major difference between the primary and secondary school in this respect is that the one, as Bernstein (1971) notes, is teacher-based and the other is teachers-based.



Gaining specialist status is a professional advantage for teachers in secondary schools; and establishing and running a department is a bigger one. Integration - the dissolution of specialist and departmental boundaries - is thus enmeshed in delicate areas of professional identity and status.<sup>30</sup> In practice, it depends on personal trust and compatibilities among staff, as much as on the recognition of any educational principle. For these professional reasons, protectionism in the curriculum can prove difficult to overcome.

The interaction of these internal and external pressures has made it increasingly important for drama teachers - particularly specialists - to specify clear aims, and to engage in formal assessment of pupils' attainment. There are a number of problems in this. Many of them, in principle at least, have relinquished important claims on bodies of knowledge and formal skills. What then are they to teach? More important, for accountability purposes, how do they evaluate, assess and legitimate what they are doing?

Two important points emerge here. The first is that, having turned away from bodies of knowledge and formal skills, teachers have emphasised instead, and claimed as their distinctive area of activity, forms of educational outcome which in other courses tend to be unstated, even unacknowledged; the promotion, that is, of certain social attitudes. This seems to be characteristic both of naturalist and progressive teaching styles.<sup>31</sup>

The second, is the extent to which teachers working on naturalist assumptions have begun trying to

legitimate what they are doing in academic and rationalist terms, setting down formal patterns of assessment and giving grades, marks and percentages.

As I hope to show, this can raise more problems than it solves, for both the credibility and the efficacy of drama teaching alike.

## 7 Key issues in drama in schools

In the light of its historical and ideological settings, there are a number of key issues which need to be investigated and taken into account within an adequate and workable theoretical perspective on drama teaching.

Theory develops, as Langer noted, within a framework of questions; and these are really ambiguous propositions. I want, therefore, to make explicit here the framework of questions within which this particular analysis will now be placed.

### 7.1 How can drama be defined in educational settings?

The term drama, as we have seen, has come to cover a mixed population of activities, and some large claims have also been made on behalf of it all.<sup>32</sup>

Among the first to call for order in this was John Allen, writing in his 1968 survey for the D.E.S. Fearing that drama teachers might lose their way in trying to go in all directions at once, he asked whether or not there was, at the centre of this ferment, a discipline that can be defined or identified as drama.

Teachers themselves do define drama in different ways, and these differences are more than superficial. As R. D. Laing observes:

'The same thing seen from different points of view, gives rise to two entirely different descriptions, and the descriptions give rise to two entirely different theories, and the theories result in two entirely different sets of action.'

(Laing: 1965, p20)

There are three main definitions in current use. Drama is seen as:

- (i) a subject;
- (ii) a method of teaching;
- (iii) a medium of self-expression.

Each of these has implications for curriculum provision, for the need or otherwise for specialists and for styles of evaluation. Each gives rise, that is, to different sets of action.

#### 7.1.1 Is it a subject?

The term 'subject' has two general references: first, to an epistemological category - an assumed body of knowledge; and second, to an organisational category within school curricula. Drama teachers, by and large, have moved away from the notion of bodies of knowledge. Certainly it would now be difficult to define drama categorically in terms of lesson contents. Drama lessons range over social issues, personal relationships, historical themes, contemporary studies, language learning, and so on. The choice of topic is usually guided by the teacher's sense of its 'relevance' to the class in question. Moreover, teachers tend to talk more of 'doing' drama or of 'using' drama than of teaching about it.

The content of drama teaching does not easily comply, therefore, with the idea of a body of knowledge as a rationalist might define it. Of course, on this reckoning it could be argued that few areas of the curriculum are really 'subjects'; that, geography, for example, should be seen as a way of considering particular aspects of the social and physical world, and history as a way of analysing the social and political past, rather than as a body of facts. This general dissolution of epistemological categories would reinforce, rather than weaken, objections to seeing drama as a subject.

The Schools Council study of The Whole Curriculum defines a 'subject' rather differently as,

'..... quite simply any study, activity or area of experience which may have a place in the school curriculum. Subjects, we assume, will reflect the teachers' judgements of what they think it is important to teach and how they think subject-matter should be structured and taught.'

(Schools Council: 1975, p13)

In this sense, teachers certainly have pressed to have drama recognised as a subject, both for reasons of professional identity and also, in a highly competitive and increasingly congested curriculum, to secure certain levels of provision. As one teacher put it:

'As far as 'O' level goes, I have to treat it as a subject, though it is, of course, a mixture of subjects: history, art, craft, design, electrical engineering, acting.'

'Personally I would regard it as a discipline centred round the ideals of co-operation, responsibility and self-expression.'

As another commented:

'I feel drama, when linked with Theatre Arts can be classified as a subject and must be for the timetabling situation. But it is definitely a method of teaching.'

Privately and publicly, many other teachers have rejected the notion of drama as a subject. But how accurate is it to see drama as a method of teaching?

#### 7.1.2 Is it a method?

An English and drama teacher at a secondary modern school in Harrow points to an important reservation in defining drama as a method. To describe it thus is, she says, to imply that its value lies in what it can get across, and not in what it is.

Attempts to establish drama as a specialism - professional reasons apart - clearly reflect this view, that there is something intrinsically worthwhile for children in the experience of dramatic activity. Although it is widely acknowledged that the techniques of drama can be used, as Caldwell Cook suggested, across the whole curriculum, to see drama only as a method implies that its real importance lies elsewhere, in whatever it is being used to teach. From a curriculum point of view, if drama is purely a method of teaching, there would be no need for special

allocation, and no need of specialists either. It would be enough to include some drama techniques in general teacher training.

Yet specialists do claim that some of the developments with which they are concerned result from the experience of drama itself, rather than from the topics which drama is being used to investigate. Accordingly, to call drama a method is to say rather less than some teachers would want.

### 7.1.3 What is it?

A common alternative is to describe drama as 'a medium of self-expression.' The notion of self-expression raises special difficulties and we will return to these in Chapter Six. For some teachers all of these terms are interchangeable:

'I consider drama to be a subject as a separate entity but also as a medium to be used as a method of teaching.'

Teachers in the survey were asked to say whether they saw drama as a subject or a method, or as neither of these. Just over half - approximately 60 % - saw drama as a mixture of both. Less than a quarter settled entirely for one or the other. A range of alternatives were put forward and these included:

- a medium of growth and development
- a method of developing themes in English
- an all embracing experience
- a link between different modes of expression
- an approach to organising experience
- a method of communication
- a dynamic educational experience
- a means of understanding experience

What drama is defined as, of course, depends to a significant degree on what it is defined in terms of; on what are supposed to be its distinguishing features.

## 7.2 What distinctive contributions can drama make to children's education?

It is on this issue that the need or otherwise for specialist provision turns. Are there some sorts of developments in children which drama specifically, perhaps uniquely, promotes? If so, does this mean time being specially set aside, regardless of whether or not drama is used in other lessons as a method? Brian Way (1967) is among those who oppose separate specialists, on the grounds that they tend to develop empires rather than children. But teachers themselves often demand separate timetabling for drama; so why is this needed?

Drama teachers make few claims on distinctive subject-matter. Teachers in the survey were asked, therefore:

'Do you feel it is your responsibility as a drama teacher to develop any specific skills in children? What, if any, are they?'

The main categories of response to this are summarised in Appendix I, Table 14.<sup>33</sup> (p 408)

Acting and the technical skills of theatre are low on this list, although skills in voice and movement are highly-placed. If physical and technical skills have a place, it is not it seems as the end products of drama. Throughout the sample, as reflected here, there is clear concern with affecting children's attitudes.

'I'm not sure if 'skills' is the right word. I'm largely concerned with responses and attitudes: honesty and creativity; development of personal resources; awareness of body, environment; concentration and aesthetic awareness.'

As another teacher put it:

'If one tries to combine an understanding of the material with an opportunity to develop and practice skills and if these two facets work together to give the child a deeper understanding of himself and his environment and if as a result of this he is more compassionate, tolerant, adaptable and sensitive towards his fellows ..... then perhaps it is working towards drama in education.'

There are two points to be emphasised here. The first is the extent to which individual attitudes are prescribed. If key figures like Slade and Brian Way have emphasised the moral virtues of dramatic activity, so too have many others. Gabriel Barnfield casts aside the 'glib assertion' that all children are born actors and that drama teaching helps them to speak and to act well. The 'real reason' for having drama on the curriculum is that drama, and all the related activities, aims at 'developing the personality and influencing for good the character of the child' (Barnfield: 1968, p14).<sup>34</sup>

The second is how general these 'distinctive' claims for drama actually are. The chief problem with such statements is that many people in education - not just drama teachers - are prone to making them.<sup>35</sup> They take us no closer to tackling questions of curriculum and evaluation in drama, specifically. The trouble actually



arises, I will argue, in taking as the starting points for a definition the notions of aims and outcomes. There is a need to clarify these but this comes later. We must begin, however, by identifying the distinctive features of dramatic activity; that is, what drama groups do, rather than why it is supposed they should do it. This will be our first concern in the coming chapters.

### 7.3 What relation is there between drama and theatre?

In Development Through Drama, Brian Way states categorically that drama is quite different from theatre, 'calling upon different skills, different standards of judgement and entirely different results' (1967, p6). For John Allen, John Hodgson and others, however, drama and theatre are intimately related in education. For John Allen, writing in 1955:

'Educational drama represents, or shall we say, is the outcome of, an altogether new approach both to education and to dramatic art. We are engaged in fact in applying the work of Froebel, Dewey and Pestalozzi to the drama and that of Stanislavsky Copeau and Granville Barker to education.'

(Quoted in Siks, G.B.: 1958, plll)

This is a central controversy in drama and rouses strong feelings among teachers;

'Drama is the basis of all subjects. It enables a child to become himself both mentally and physically and to become an individual member of society. Drama lessons are not for producing little actors.'

Both Dorothy Heathcote (1980 b) and Gavin Bolton (1980a) have argued that the drama teacher constantly uses the

forms and structure of theatre during the lesson, whether or not there is an intended performance in view. If this is so, does it follow, as Allen, Hodgson and the others might suggest, that children should also study plays and act in front of audiences? This issue is embroiled in questions of methodology, of lesson content and of the processes of cultural reproduction in education as a whole. Is there a relationship, then, between educational drama and theatre? If so, what is it and what are its practical implications?<sup>36</sup>

#### 7.4 What is the relation between drama and the teaching of English?

The questioning of the links between drama and theatre has also challenged the historical relationship between drama and English teaching. Yet English teachers commonly feel that drama is an important part of their repertory of teaching methods and regret this dissociation; for, when specialists are appointed, other staff may feel unwilling to encroach on their territory.

But do the developments in drama teaching mean that the relationship with the English teacher is dissolved? The face of English teaching has changed just as considerably as that of drama during the last twenty years, after all, due, of course, to many of the same developments.<sup>37</sup> In what ways might drama serve the interests of English Departments and what are the implications for drama specialists?

#### 7.5 What is the role of drama in children's emotional development?

A discussion paper on 'aesthetic subjects' published by the Council of Europe (1975) argued that Arts and Crafts courses needed to be developed in schools 'for purposes of emotional realisation and creativity.' Many drama

teachers have identified themselves with such a view. For some, drama and the other arts are powerful forces for easing personal and social tensions. A statement by the Educational Drama Association in 1952, for example, went so far as to say:

'We believe that the lack of emphasis on the Arts in Education in the past has contributed to the emotional instability we find in our generation. The therapeutic value of the arts is now generally accepted .....

(Creative Drama, Vol.1 ,No 7:1952,p3)

But even if drama is therapeutic, do all children actually need therapy as part of the compulsory curriculum? Are teachers equipped to deal with this? There are really two main views on how drama educates - even trains - the emotions: either through purging them in an act of expression, or through a process of empathising.

#### 7.5.1 Purgation

The notion of purgation through drama reaches back to Aristotle's catharsis. Slade and others saw this, in effect, as a daily classroom technique. For adolescents especially, Slade saw drama as a 'great safety-valve'. In a striking phrase, he describes drama as offering 'continuous opportunities for playing out evil in a legal framework.' The emotions, he says,

'can be somewhat turbulent at this age and it is very important that there should be training in the emotions as in other subjects'.

(Slade, P.: 1954, p73)<sup>38</sup>

### 7.5.2 Empathy

Hodgson and Richards are among those who see the education of the emotions taking place through children being encouraged to empathise with other people's feelings, rather than through direct emotional release. If anyone is to live and respond fully, they say,

'he needs to know both how and why his feelings work as they do ..... the only way we are going to come to any grasp of emotion in the living situation is to be aware of them under experimental and imaginative conditions.'

(1966, p23)

Drama is thus seen as some form of rehearsal or pre-enactment of real life, in which the emotions are explored in 'controlled situations'.

Whatever the positive benefits of this association of drama and emotional education may be, there have been a number of doubtful side-effects. The most significant of these, from a curriculum point of view, is that drama has come to be seen by some teachers as non-intellectual.<sup>39</sup> One teacher at a South London grammar school for example did see a limited value in children acting out their feelings - 'to see what is normal' - but was sceptical of using drama in this way with bright children:

'I think that if you start using drama as a social study to teach children social awareness, awareness of themselves, then, while I don't totally disagree with this, I think it would certainly be out of place with this age-range, at

this level, in this school.  
 Another school, another age-range,  
 another intelligence level,  
 perhaps.'

In this way, the dichotomy of emotion and intellect may push drama and the arts to the periphery of the academic curriculum. Certainly the idea of drama as emotional release may breed some nervousness among other teachers. This rough distinction also makes it hard to resist the image of some teachers doing intellect before break and others handling the emotions up to lunch-time.

Clearly expressive activity and the notion of feeling have some place in an understanding of the functions of the arts; but does this justify either of these models of emotional growth? If drama activities do intercede in emotional development in some way, in what way is it? Is it through 'self-expression'? Is it direct or indirect? Do all children need it and what are the implications for the academic curriculum?

#### 7.6 What are the roles of the teacher in drama lessons?

The movements towards child-centred education have had profound implications for the role of the teacher. From being an initiator or transmitter of knowledge and skills, naturalist, paedocentric models urged teachers to stand out of frame, as it were, so as to focus attention on the children's interests. During the 1950's the role of the teacher was pictured in different ways in drama. Peter Slade had the teacher as a 'loving ally', creating a warm environment for self-realisation. A 1956 Report on Provision for Primary

Schools seems to take this to heart when it advised teachers that:

'The freest type of discipline is necessary if the children's powers of self-expression are to be encouraged. Directions from the teacher should therefore be as few as possible ..... so that (drama) for the children always provides a creative experience and opportunities for the free use of imagination and the exercise of self-expression.'<sup>40</sup>

This contrasts sharply with the image of the drama teacher commended by an international congress on educational drama in 1952. The drama specialist emerged there as a kind of Renaissance figure who, it was said,

'should not only have a wide knowledge of all branches of the subject and a certain executive ability, but should be a person of artistic integrity, have the power to understand and handle people, have an interest in progressive and experimental methods and be a creative artist.'<sup>41</sup>

The image of the teacher which mainly filtered into the 1960's was of a catalyst of creative events. In place of bodies of knowledge, he/she brought batteries of ideas for things to do. This emphasis on keeping children 'creatively' occupied was well expressed by a drama adviser - for Wiltshire - writing in 1958:

'If you make a list of possible characters like good, bad, strong, weak, young, old, and a list of dramatic situations like lost, escaping from, fearing, loving, and a list of environments like a ship,

a street, a station, a hospital,  
by setting different combinations  
of these three elements you need  
never run short of ideas (for  
improvisations)!<sup>42</sup>

The teacher here is pictured as an organiser of activities, a kind of child-centred Redcoat; an attitude commonly reflected in assertions of the kind that drama literally means 'doing'.<sup>43</sup>

Drama teachers of the 1960's found themselves being trained in a mixed tradition, of course. The sudden expansion of courses created a large number of tutorial posts which were filled by people from very varied backgrounds in teaching, amateur dramatics and professional theatre. Consequently, different courses preached very different gospels. But there was, to judge from interviews with teachers, often an unhelpful division between theory and practice, and between main course and education studies. Moreover, many main courses tended paradoxically to focus on theatre activities and play productions with the students, while apparently discouraging such things in the classroom. Practical training in the use of improvisational techniques often consisted, for the most part, of participating in workshops, on the principle that the students would pick up how to run sessions with children by a process of osmosis.<sup>44</sup>

I will argue, however, that the role of the teacher has become more, not less, important as the framing of the educational encounter has become less rigid. The work of Dorothy Heathcote and of Gavin Bolton has been particularly significant in plumbing the complexities of the teacher's role. I will want to comment particularly on their thinking in looking at what drama teachers actually do in the lesson.

### 7.7 How can drama work be assessed and evaluated?

There are two pressures to evaluate drama; the one professional, to improve the quality of what is done: the other political, to improve its status.

A common response among drama teachers has been to introduce examinations. I will argue that, in general, this is a mistake. What is needed is a more systematic and thorough approach to the whole process of curriculum and classroom evaluation. In pressing for more, not less, evaluation, therefore, it is essential that the processes involved are compatible with the work in hand, and that the terms of public accountability for the arts in schools emerge from a more systematic approach to classroom evaluation, and not vice versa. In this respect, it is crucial not to confuse accountability with examinability.

### 7.8 What are the roles of drama in the curriculum?

The survey conducted within this study gave the following general picture of provision for drama in secondary schools.

- (1) Although drama is now established in all types of secondary school in the British Isles, the overall proportion of such schools is small.
- (2) Drama is comparatively well-established in comprehensive schools of certain types.
- (3) The main groups of schools within this sample, where drama is taken by trained specialists working in separate departments, are comprehensives and other mixed sex schools which are large and predominantly working-class.
- (4) Curriculum drama is less common in older schools, selective schools, single-sex



schools - particularly girls' - and in sixth form colleges.

- (5) Although the majority of specialists were trained as such, a large proportion have had no specialist training at all.
- (6) Schools generally employ one or two teachers as drama specialists, rarely more. Even where drama is established as a separate activity, a proportion of schools do not employ specialists to take it. This is particularly true of older schools.
- (7) There are fewer drama specialists overall in the sample than of other arts specialists in music, art and English.
- (8) A high proportion of those taking drama work in schools do so as non-specialists, or as dual specialists - notably as English/Drama.

How is all of this to be evaluated? Is there a lot of specialist drama going on, considering the comparatively recent emergence of specialists; or too little, given what they have set themselves to do? One period of 40 minutes a week over three years amounts to 12 school days of drama. Is this adequate for developing 'sensitivity', 'wholeness' and 'self-confidence' with complete classes? Yet, if drama is best seen as a method of teaching, other aims may be more appropriate. The whole principle of a separate specialism, and therefore of separate lessons, may be misconceived. So far from being enhanced, the basic value of dramatic activity in schools may be being destroyed through the maintenance of strong curriculum boundaries.

How drama is organised on the timetable is a function of how schools see such activities within the general

mix of children's education experiences; and of how highly such contributions are rated.

In curriculum terms, then, what have teachers of drama achieved so far and where should they be heading now?

## 8 Beyond Individualism

In pursuing this analysis further I want now to take issue with some of the basic assumptions of both paradigms of individualism, and to come at an understanding of drama from a wholly different perspective. Both paradigms posit a view of individualism which is a-social. For the rationalist, knowledge is substantive and impersonal. In becoming rational the individual is set free of cultural bias on perception. For the naturalist, children grow rather like plants, needing space and support, developing in groups rather than as groups.

Both paradigms I will argue distort the processes of drama, by overlooking a basic feature of the activities involved; that is, that they are social. So too, I will argue, is learning; and so too is knowledge, evolving through an incessant dialectic between, in Mead's (1934) phrase, the 'self' and the 'Other'.

The natural paradigm, although emphasising 'wholeness', actually reinforces dichotomies - emotion/intellect, drama/theatre, arts/science - which obstruct the full realisation of dramatic activity in schools. Moreover, there emerges a view of the learning group, which, to extend Bernstein's conception of the curriculum, is based on a collection code of social development. Against this, I will be arguing for a view of learning which takes place within an integrated code of social life, in which knowledge is seen as a social construct which is both inter-subjective and intensely personal.

Drama activities present teachers with ways of harnessing these processes in the classroom, not for purposes of self-expression - although they have expressive functions - but to engage children in the 'negotiation of meaning'. This, as I see it, is the central dynamic of drama teaching and, indeed, of education as a whole.

Drama teachers may have moved away from rationalist assumptions: they now need to move beyond those of naturalism.

## 9 Summary

In this chapter, I have distinguished two main paradigms of individualism and argued that drama activities were evolved into a specialism within the natural paradigm. Drama teachers can be associated in these terms with progressive teaching styles. I have considered these as ideological paradigms and argued that explicit theory tends to have an oblique relation to practice, but that the relation between ideology and practice is direct. Theory is expressive and is often used to buttress existing ways of thinking. The debate over psychometric testing at 11 plus was given as an example of this, together with the embracing of naturalist and anti-mechanist theories by progressive teachers. Drama teaching can be seen as part of an ideological shift away from rationalism and its associated patterns of intellectual achievement and 'objective' evaluation. Nevertheless, for professional and political reasons - rather than for strictly educational ones - drama teachers have tended to work within the rigid timetabling of traditional curricula. They have also tended to submit to the competitive assessment procedures of grades and percentages which derive from the objectivist/psychometric tradition criticised by Simon and which drama specialists themselves began by trying to replace.

There is a need now to disentangle the various themes and aspirations which have been caught up in the development of drama in schools and I have identified the key issues which this involves.

The next chapter identifies the essential features of drama activities and lays out the ground for a change of perspective on the issues now before us.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE ESSENTIAL FEATURES OF DRAMATIC ACTIVITY

#### 1 Reasons for the chapter

- (1) To argue against taking teachers' aims as the initial distinguishing factors in drama and argue instead for looking at the functions of certain activities.
- (2) To indicate the diversity of drama lessons.
- (3) To criticise some existing classifications.
- (4) To identify the essential features of dramatic activity.

#### 2 The dangers of abstraction

Philosophers, as Louis Arnaud Reid has pointed out,<sup>1</sup> would save themselves a lot of trouble if, wherever possible, they used verbs instead of abstract nouns. The danger in abstractions lies in treating them as if they had minds of their own. There is a tendency which exemplifies this to discuss drama in terms of what it does and to ask what its aims are. So, for example:

'..... Drama not only helps the child to control himself for his own benefit, but, what is more important, helps him to control his own reactions when he needs to be with or work with other people'.

(Pemberton-Billing, R N and Clegg, D:  
1965, p33)

Treating abstract categories as 'things' is, to some degree, an obligation of natural language and common sense. This

can be a serious obstacle to thinking about drama, for it suggests homogeneities of practice which cannot be assumed. People mean different things by 'drama' and do different things in its name. Moreover, 'drama' does not refer to some impersonal entity or concrete commodity, and it differs in this respect from, for example, 'painting' or 'sculpture'. It refers to certain sorts of personal actions: and exists only as these actions take place. Drama connotes certain ways in which people behave and things that they do. It is not the things that people do that have aims but the people who do them. For these reasons, drama is best seen, not as a subject or a method but as a process; and instead of looking at what 'drama' does, we should look first at what people do who are dramatising.

### 3 Aims and functions in drama teaching

It has been more common to ask for definitions of drama in terms of teachers' aims. It is important, therefore, to say why I am suggesting a different approach.

#### 3.1 The trouble with aims

Attempts to agree on the aims of educational drama are mistaken, partly because it makes no more sense to talk of the aims of drama than of the aims of music or the aims of painting.

It is not drama, or music, or painting that have aims but dramatists, musicians and painters, and these are likely to agree on aims only at the most general levels. Aims point in two directions: forwards to the desired outcomes of actions and backwards to the values of those whose aims they are. Aiming 'to develop self-awareness', for example, tells us as much about the teacher as about the children whose sensitivity he/she aims to work on. Aims predicate values and priorities. They answer the question 'why?'

This is a key difficulty in attempting definitions of drama in terms of aims. As we saw in the last chapter, the stated aims of drama teachers could apply to almost anything. Only in very few cases is there anything specifically dramatic about them. Drama has now become associated with progressive education in general and teachers tend to formulate their aims in the house style.

Given the shifts in educational ideology against child-centred education and 'self-expression', drama teachers are under some pressure to clarify what exactly they contribute to childrens education. Moreover, there is a peculiar necessity in drama lessons for teachers to exercise disciplined personal judgements because methods of assessment, which may be accepted elsewhere, do not apply here (as we will see in Chapter Seven). This emphasises the need for clarity of purpose and procedure.

The most useful approach for teachers using drama is not, in the first instance, to generalise about why they do it. It is to specify what it is that they do; to look at the processes of work that they use in the classroom, asking what is distinctive about them, and attempting to clarify their typical functions.

In due course this may help to formulate clearer aims, objectives and intentions<sup>2</sup> and to relate them more closely to the schools and groups in question. It may then be that aims and objectives, by becoming more specific, do help to define the place of drama in the school.<sup>3</sup>

There are two further reasons why looking first at teachers' aims will not produce a helpful definition: the need for specifics and the gap between theory and practice.

### 3.2 The need for specifics

The schools in which the four lessons in Appendix 2 took place were different in size, catchment, organisation and facilities. There were differences of attitude to drama among staff and children. The groups themselves were different. Each of these factors might influence the teachers' aims, objectives and intentions.<sup>4</sup> I am arguing that this should be so and that, if so, the aims and objectives of teachers using drama may well vary widely, the more closely related to practical circumstances they become. This likely diversity of aims should be borne in mind in attempting definitions.

### 3.3 Theory and practice

There is commonly a gap between what people say they do and what they actually do. Esland (1971) has examined these differences, in schools, in terms of teachers' 'psychologisms'. There are significant variations between the sets of taken-for-granted assumptions that different teachers bring into the classroom, the inferential structures of ideas and values which I have characterised as a person's ideology. These 'psychologisms' may operate 'implicitly and inconsistently' against the direct realisation of stated aims and objectives. For theory and ideology, and aims and praxis, may be out of joint. This is particularly likely with teachers,

'..... whose pedagogy is pre-theoretical, where the inferential structures are relatively weak and the rationale sparse and restricted'.

(Esland: 1971, p85)

This aptly describes the position of many teachers of drama. For this reason, too, I want to look at what teachers actually do, rather than just at the claims they make for it.



In doing so, I am arguing that the specification of aims and objectives is a central activity of teaching, of evaluation and of curriculum planning, but that only teachers acting responsively within their own schools, can clarify the appropriate aims and objectives in that setting. They should then look at the processes of drama to see if these provide a way of realising them, rather than looking to drama, in the abstract, to supply them with a set of universal aims.

For the moment, for these reasons, I want to put questions of aims in a bracket. We will return to them as we go on.

#### 3.4 The concept of function

Where aims relate to aspirations, statements of function relate to what occurs; they are descriptive rather than prescriptive.<sup>5</sup> This is not to say that in looking at social processes such as education or drama statements of function are incontestable or unambiguous.

Unlike mechanical processes where the functions of events within the process may be clear and unambiguous, events within social processes may have a diversity of functions, according to when they are described and by whom, or from whose point of view, the description is made.

First, interpreting the meaning or determining the function of an action,

'..... requires a date index  
specifying the moment of the  
meaning interpretation'.

(Schutz: 1972, p65)

As experienced over time, the same person's disposition, or relation to events, may change and, with this the personal

function of the event may alter. Second, those who stand, simultaneously, in different relationships to the same event may judge its functions differently. As Laing has it:

'..... the same event, seen from  
different points of view gives  
rise to two entirely different  
descriptions'.

(Laing: 1965, p20)

These points have important implications for evaluating classroom processes (see Chapter Seven).

There is also an ambiguity in the term itself. Sometimes it is used to describe the purpose, and sometimes the effect, of an action. Moreover, in social processes especially, activities which are intended to serve one purpose may effectively serve another one altogether.<sup>6</sup> We should recognise a difference, therefore, between intentional and effective functions of social actions. In considering the process of drama, I will eventually put forward a model which attempts to coordinate, at a theoretical level, a range of typical functions; those which, according to context, may be seen as either intentional or effective. By identifying the range of possibilities, the model will provide an inferential basis both for planning and for evaluation.

It follows from what we have said that framing intentions for, and identifying effects of, classroom activity is necessarily a matter for the judgement of those involved. The general problem in drama is to formulate a framework for making and organising these judgements. This will be our task.

To return to our initial question: in analysing the functions rather than the aims of drama teaching, what are we looking for the functions of?

#### 4 The range of drama lessons

Drama teachers have been influenced by theories in developmental psychology, sociology and progressive educational philosophy; by principles of group therapy and by rehearsal techniques in professional theatre. Not surprisingly, the activities of drama lessons span a broad range.

The four lessons described in Appendix 2 are intended, therefore, to provide some reference points for tackling questions of practice and definition. They are not intended as exemplars of good practice, nor are they intended to be exhaustively representative of all drama lessons. They give some indication of the differing patterns and emphases in current practice and of the general problems of analysis. They contain elements of pair work, group activity, discussion, writing, role-play, performance, games, exercises, movement and speech. To fully represent all drama lessons they would also need to include dance, choric activity and more besides.

Many of these activities take place in other lessons. What are the salient features so far as defining drama is concerned?

#### 5 Classifications of drama

There have been various attempts to classify the basic elements of drama lessons. I have chosen three to illustrate the rest: the first, as being typical of many attempts by individual writers; the second, because it represents an official view and the third, as being particularly influential-coming from a leading practitioner.

David Self (1975) classifies drama under five headings.

- |           |  |
|-----------|--|
| (1) Drama | - Creative dramatic activity that exists for its value to those taking part. |
|-----------|--|

- (2) Theatre - Dramatic activity that exists to communicate a story, idea, a study of character, a 'message' or entertainment to an audience.
- (3) Acting - Performing to an audience.
- (4) Improvisation - A scene created extempore usually relying on the verbal rather than on movement.
- (5) Role-play - Improvisation exercises that exist to give experience and understanding of a situation, usually in connection with another school subject (e.g. Moral Education or History). Role-play is usually followed by discussion of the issues involved.

(Self, D: 1975, p10-11)

This includes most of the key terms in current use and seeks to distinguish between them. A similar attempt is made in the Young Report on Drama in Scottish Schools. This catalogue is longer and includes: Dramatisation, Mime, Dramatic Movement, Dance and Drama, Role-play, Playmaking, The Study of Dramatic Literature, Theatre, Arts and Crafts (Scottish Education Department: 1977a, p13-15).<sup>7</sup> There is considerable overlap between these two lists. Despite the attempts to clearly distinguish these categories of activity, there is also a good deal of overlap within them. In the first list, for example, may not drama as well as theatre sometimes deal with 'messages'? In what way is role-play concerned with experience and understanding of situations where acting and improvisation are not?

The Young Report runs up against similar problems. The Committee confine dramatising to 'the re-enactment of a narrative'. But clearly it may go beyond this. Moreover, to

define role-play as 'an activity where participants identify actively with a given role', is a tautology which leaves the issue where they found it. For the teacher in search of practical guidance, such classifications may be deeply confusing. The problem here is not merely terminological. For two reasons, it is endemic to such classifications. First, because they seek to make separate categories out of what are only varieties of elemental dramatic activities. The varying lengths of the catalogues and the degree of overlap within them is an indication of this. And second, because such lists invariably fail to define these basic elements to begin with. As a result, it becomes almost impossible to operate the categories in a reliable way either in planning, teaching or in evaluation.

In practice, one person's acting may be another person's role-play, and who is to choose between them?

Gavin Bolton makes an advance on these approaches. In describing his own view of drama he begins by classifying into three categories,

'..... the main kinds of drama experience that are promoted in schools and colleges'.

(1979: p2)

He calls these 'types' of drama. They are:

Type A : Exercise  
 Type B : Dramatic Playing  
 Type C : Theatre

He divides each of these into sub-categories. In the case of Exercise, these are: 1/Directly Experiential, 2/Dramatic Skill Practice, 3/Drama Exercise, 4/Games, 5/Other Art Forms (e.g. Writing and Music).

He qualifies these 'types' of drama in two ways. First, their value cannot be determined absolutely, but only in relation to actual working groups and the task in hand.

However,

'..... any exclusive use of a particular form invites a deteriorating educational experience progressively relying on the weaknesses within the form'.

(Ibid., p5)

Second, each 'type' can be used to promote the type of drama in which he is most interested: (Type D?) Drama for Understanding. This classification is an advance in two ways. First because the categories are descriptive. The tendency elsewhere is to mingle descriptive and prescriptive statements, suggesting like Self that some activities should be avoided,<sup>8</sup> or like Young, that they are all of the same value.

Bolton intends to describe what is actually going on. Second, in broaching questions of value, he emphasises the need to relate task to function and to avoid generalised judgements. The common weakness in all three classifications is that they seek to catalogue all permutations of dramatic activity without identifying the basic elements that are being permuted. This needs to be done in order to justify the claim that those are 'types' of drama in the first place, and to clarify what relationships might exist between all of these various 'types'.

I want to approach a definition by identifying these central and basic features of all dramatic activity.

## 6 The central features of dramatic activity

### 6.1 Drama and theatre as encounters

The term 'drama' refers to a representation through action of situations in which there is an element of

tension or crisis. In the strict sense, it refers to a particular form of make-believe. In daily use, it has also come to be used metaphorically of situations in real life.<sup>9</sup>

In both cases, drama refers to an encounter of some sort. In the stricter sense it involves the participants projecting themselves into imagined roles and/or circumstances and acting as if these were real.<sup>10</sup>

In the report of the Schools Council Drama Project (McGregor, L , Tate, M , Robinson, K : 1977), we called this 'acting-out'. In doing so, we intended to recognise a difference between the exploratory activities of classroom drama and the activities of those who act a part to an audience. The difference is partly one of function. Acting and acting-out are part of the general process of dramatising and emerge from the basic capacity to assume and behave in imagined roles. Doing so may serve a range of functions. The relationship between drama and theatre can best be understood through considering how these functions knit together.

Acting-out is not drama. The drama is the encounter which the participants create; the events and the tensions which bind them together. Acting-out is a process by which drama is created. Drama in the classroom is mostly improvised<sup>11</sup> and has no separate audience.

Theatre also means a type of social encounter - one in which one group shows a drama to another.<sup>12</sup>

Theatre does not refer to what the actors do nor to the presence of the audience. It refers to the encounter which takes place between the actors and the audience. It refers to a relationship, and, as with all relationships, if one half is taken away, the whole is gone.

Drama and theatre are related, but they are not the same. An audience does not watch theatre; they watch a drama. They are participants in theatre; their participation being what makes it so. There are two corollaries of this.

First, the difference between drama and theatre is not that one has an audience and the other does not, nor that everyone is actively involved if it is drama and half the room is passive in theatre. I will develop the view later (Chapter Six) that participants in drama sessions work with a sense of audience, whether or not there is a separate group looking on. Moreover, the role of audience is not passive, but is potentially as creative as that of the actors. Without the creative engagement of the audience, there is no communication and no theatre.

Second, the fact that an event is witnessed does not make it theatre. D.W. Harding (1937) has examined the many ways in which we take up the role of onlooker in daily life. In most of these, the events are not taking place for an audience, even though they may attract one: accidents, work-sites, etc. If some spectators sit in on a drama lesson, for example, their presence does not, of itself, turn the event into theatre. It would only become so if the children began, purposefully and consciously, to direct what they were doing for the benefit of the spectators. Theatre implies an intentional relationship between the actors and their audience, and the conscious use of imagined roles.

## 6.2 Social interaction

A second feature of drama is implicit in its being defined as an encounter. It is social, taking place between people.<sup>13</sup> In much that is written about drama, the emphasis on individualism, particularly on natural



individualism, disregards this. Bernstein (1971) has examined how traditional curricula express a collection code of knowledge. Similarly, many classrooms reflect a collection code of social development in which children are isolated from each other, despite being in each other's presence.

Although it is often emphasised that in drama children work in groups, it has been insufficiently recognised that they also work as groups; that the processes of drama are centred on interaction.

To extend Bernstein's notion, this represents an integrated code of social development. As I will show, the task for the teacher is to develop these processes of social interaction into more rigorous processes of group negotiation.

Interaction and negotiation are at the heart of dramatic activity. The uniqueness arises from its being conducted in contexts of imagined roles and/or circumstances, in working together 'as if'.

Understanding the functions of dramatic activity in schools, therefore, involves pursuing two related sets of issues: those to do with the notion of 'role' and those with the processes of group negotiation. The functions of drama in education may be derived from these two principal and essential features.

## 7 Recasting the question

In this chapter I have described the range of drama lessons and have argued that a definition of drama should not be pursued, in the first instance, through looking at teachers' aims, but at the nature of the activities they use. I have criticised some existing classifications of drama, and I have identified the central features of drama as acting-out and social interaction.

In Chapter Five I will look at some of the implications of the view that drama in schools represents an integrated code of social development. I want first to look more closely at the notion of role; to suggest two key senses in which it applies to drama and to clarify the grounds of difference between them. The many demands and attempts to illuminate the uses of drama in education have tended to centre on trying to define and agree on aims. The argument I now want to develop begins from a different point; that it is not the aims of drama which need to be clarified, but the typical functions of acting and of acting-out.

CHAPTER FOURACTING-OUT: REAL AND SYMBOLIC ROLES1 Reasons for the chapter

- (i) To distinguish two main senses of the term 'role'.
- (ii) To describe three main corollaries of this distinction.
- (iii) To relate these points to the idea of 'acting-out'.

2 Taking roles2.1 Roles and ideas

I have described a distinguishing feature of drama as that of assuming actual or imagined roles and situations and behaving as if these were real. The general question this raises is why, from an educational point of view, should children be asked to do this at all? In the third lesson, Factory, for example, the teacher's aims included exploring aspects of 'authority'. He could have tackled this theme in a number of other ways: e.g. through writing or discussion. Why ask the pupils to take on make-believe roles? More specifically, what relationship, if any, was there between these roles and the exploration of the ideas the teacher had in mind? And what is the force of saying that these roles are treated as if they are real?

In pursuing these questions we must look first at the concept of 'role'.

2.2 The concept of role

Dorothy Heathcote (1980b) has written of the 'terrifying complexities' of the idea of role. Certainly the term

has come to be used in a variety of contexts and occupies a central place in all disciplines concerned with understanding social behaviour: from personal and group therapy to the sociology of knowledge.<sup>1</sup>

Our first and most important general point derives from this. It is that the concept of 'role' is inherently social. It denotes an individual's, or a group's, relations with others. The significance of 'roles' has inevitably increased, therefore, with the growing interest in relating the consciousness and actions of individuals to the social context of which they are part.<sup>2</sup> This represents an important shift from seeing the individual as a discrete social unit, as, for example, within mechanist and behaviourist approaches in psychology, to seeing him/her in a dialectical relationship with the social and material world; to seeing the individual in terms of, in Laing's (1965) phrase, his or her 'existential-being-in-the-world'. This recognition of the significance of social and cultural contexts, and of the inherently social nature of roles, lies at the heart of the evaluation I will make of the individualistic assumptions of contemporary drama teaching. It is important, therefore, to be clear on terms.

In everyday use, the word 'role' has two general meanings. On the one hand, it is used of actions and dispositions in daily life and, on the other, in a specifically theatrical sense, of an actor's part in a play. For the particular purposes of looking at drama lessons, I want to elaborate a general distinction which is related to, though not the same as, this common usage; a distinction between roles which are 'real' and those which are 'symbolic'.<sup>3</sup>

### 3 Real social roles: role-enactment

By 'real' social roles, I mean the attitudes and actions of individuals towards each other in the enactment of what they understand as the actual relations which exist between them. Such roles are a function of what individuals are appointed, expected, or have undertaken to do, in the varied social settings of daily life.

The processes of role-enactment - rather than of role-play - have been the pre-eminent concern of the social sciences. Inevitably, various attempts have been made to classify such roles into types.<sup>4</sup> Clearly some distinctions are possible; between, for example, occupational and family roles. Such 'functional' roles might also be distinguished from the personal roles through which different individuals will enact them. The problem in attempting any comprehensive typology, however, is that each social contact engages every individual in some sort of role. Any sub-classification of real roles must, therefore, be either highly selective or highly complex.

Such classifications are unnecessary, however, for the present purpose. However wide and diverse our personal repertory may be, it is enough to establish that, in assuming certain roles, we are enacting what we take as our real relations with others. Moreover, such roles are not just a part of social reality. To a significant degree they are, for each of us, what social reality consists in.

Two important points about the enactment of real social roles, are that:

- (i) different individuals enact different roles in the same social setting;
- (ii) the same individual enacts different roles in different social settings.<sup>5</sup>

#### 4 Symbolic roles: role-play

By 'symbolic' roles I mean the portrayal of people and events through speech and gesture in ways which temporarily transcend the sense of every day reality. In role-play we depict the actions and/or speech of others, or of ourselves, in actual or imagined situations. In doing so we puncture the present reality with events which we understand to belong to another.

There is nothing unusual about this. Throughout our socialising we speak the words and portray the actions of others. As Harold Rosen puts it, 'Our speech is peppered with invisible but detectable quotation marks' (1980, p155). This spontaneous assumption of the roles of others is intrinsic to the daily processes of communication. We play roles to inform, persuade, entertain, instruct, or for any of the other purposes of social contact whatsoever. Role-playing is a pervasive feature of speech and gesture and it emerges from the same source - the general capacity for representation, for seeing one event as meaning another.

This capacity exists within us prior to any problems we may have in accounting for it or in knowing how best to use it in classrooms. It emerges early in childhood as D.W. Winnicott (1974) has shown in his studies of 'transitional objects.' As the child develops, so his/her representations of experience become more sophisticated and take different forms. So, for example, the dramatic and projected play of the very young child is supplemented by more formal, rule-governed game playing, while, in the older child and in the adult, role play also becomes internalised.<sup>7</sup>

Just as externalised role-playing may serve any of the purposes of daily communication, so this internal dramatising comes to participate in the general processes of personal consciousness:

'..... Inner speech, internalised action and imagery merge and the imagination can dramatise for our purposes the explorations of our minds.'

(Rosen 1980: p 162 )

In the chapters which follow, we will need to return frequently to this distinction between real and symbolic roles, and to look more closely at the grounds on which it is based. I will want to argue that the most important skills of the drama teacher are to do with managing the transitions and exploiting the tensions between these two sorts of role-taking.

## 5 A general capacity

The process of dramatising is not an invention of drama teachers nor of dramatists, any more than language is the invention of writers. It is a natural, intrinsic part of communication and of private thought. Children and adults dramatise all the time whether they are asked to or not. The drama teacher's job is to harness this capacity to the purposes of education.

An important step on the way is to accept that this distinction between real and symbolic roles is not so neat in practice as it is in theory. We all slide easily and spontaneously between such roles during our every day dealings with others. Moreover, our playing of roles often corresponds to those we are obliged, at other times, to enact. There is also an important sense in which our transcendence of real roles is an integral feature of the reality in which we are presently engaged; we play some roles to enact others.

Real and symbolic roles are distinguishable primarily as changes of disposition. They occur as changes in the participants' -

- (i) sense of intention;
- (ii) sense of convention.

## 6 The sense of intention

The transition from role-enactment to role-playing is intentional. This is so in both a general and a specific sense. The general sense is that it is done for a purpose. In daily life we play roles for all the purposes of discourse: to inform, to persuade, to clarify, to entertain and so on. It is important to note, however, that, in doing so, we tend to modify actions and events, as we represent them.

As Volosinov (1973) notes in his analysis of direct speech, the quoter is free to transform the purposes of the original utterances into the often quite different purposes of the present ones. Rosen (1980) comments that:

'We could say that exactly the same applies to doubly articulated action in which we act the actions of another in order to present them recognisably and at the same time transform them.'

(Rosen: 1980, p161)

As we depict the speech and actions of others - and of ourselves at other times - inevitably, though not always consciously, we interpret and comment on them, in the act and manner of representation. Role-play meets present purposes and to these ends it involves commentary and interpretation.

The 'sense of intention' also has a more specific meaning here. The transition from real to symbolic roles is essentially a change of disposition; a change in what Bergson (1911) calls 'the tension of consciousness'. In playing roles we enter a different 'province of meaning' (Schutz, 1967). There is,



in the phenomenological sense, a change of 'intentionality'. We will explore these notions in the next chapter, specifically as they bear on the idea of 'everyday social reality' and on the related assertion that symbolic roles are accepted, for the time, as real. We can say here, however, that the transition from real to symbolic roles involves a change in attitude to the meaning of behaviour. As such it is accompanied, and signalled, by changes in the sense of convention.

## 7 The sense of convention

The exchange of meanings through symbols - such as those of language and gesture - requires an understanding of the conventions of symbolic discourse - the agreed ways in which varying forms of meaning and the transitions between them are signalled and recognised. As John Lyons (1963) puts it, it is necessary that these are maintained by the mutual acknowledgment of communicating subjects.

The nature and strength of such conventions vary considerably according to the sorts of meanings involved and the precision with which they are to be expressed. The Catholic Mass, for example, expresses exact meanings and thus observes strict conventions of symbolisation. These are not open to negotiation or modification except at the highest levels of the Church. Through these conventionalised forms of symbolism, the congregation acknowledges that it is entering a province of meaning and experience which is distinguishable from what we will later (Chapter 5) describe as the 'natural attitude' to daily life.

In general role-playing, we also engage a different sense of reality and we signal this to each other in agreed and recognisable ways: tone of voice, facial expression, changes in posture, use of direct speech and so on.

The strength of these conventions also varies according to the precision with which these meanings are to be expressed, and to how formal and sustained our role-playing will be.

In the flow of daily conversation, the transition between these 'realms of meaning' is often spontaneous and fleeting. In more sustained examples of role-play, the transition is signalled more formally by, for example, the putting on of costume, the focussing of a light, the raising of a curtain.

Both the mass and theatre make sophisticated use of the sense of convention to signal that we are entering a different province of meaning; a different reality. Although they do have this in common, they also differ, of course, in important ways. We will consider some of these differences in looking below at ceremonial (9.2).

In all cases, however, conventions determine not so much what particular utterances or gestures mean, but how they mean. It is not just that the gestures and language of role-play have different meanings from those of role-enactment, but that they mean in a different way. For these meanings to be exchanged and understood, it is essential that the conventions which set them in context are mutually acknowledged by those involved.

A number of points emerge here. First, drama involves a complicated use of conventions. A drama is a kind of Chinese box of conventions: some marking off the drama from the reality of the natural attitude and some defining and characterising the world which the drama presents (See Chapter 6). Second, the use of these conventions needs to be clearly understood, if the process of dramatising is to be controlled and made purposeful. These considerations are a preoccupation of the playwright and director who seek to control a drama for an audience. They also raise questions about the control

of drama in the classroom. Specifically, who controls what of the drama and what is negotiable? Third, where conventions are misunderstood or unrecognised, the meanings of any communication tend to miscarry. These points have important implications for the use of symbolic roles in the classroom. We will develop each of them in the coming chapters.

## 8 Taking care

Role-play and role-enactment are intrinsic features of personal consciousness and of social interaction. Any attempt to classify them further, therefore, should also be made with care. For just as devising typologies of real roles would involve trying to unravel the whole web of social behaviour, so any attempt to categorise types of symbolic role would mean trying to classify neatly the mercurial and evanescent processes of personal consciousness. Mechanist psychologies have tried, of course, to do exactly that and they have attracted due criticism.<sup>8</sup> Fortunately, any such detailed classifications lie beyond the purpose, and the ambition, of this analysis. Having argued this general distinction and the general ground on which it is based, however, it is important to make some immediate inferences, so as:

- (i) to illustrate the various ways in which real and symbolic roles constantly shade into each other;
- (ii) to clarify the terms which will be used from here on to express this.

## 9 Three corollaries

### 9.1 Re-enactment and pre-enactment

#### 9.1.1 Imaginal experience

By role-play, I mean our representations, through speech and gesture of:

- (i) the roles of others;
- (ii) our own roles in imagined situations.

'Imagined' is an ambiguous word here and this points to an important first corollary. Role-playing is not only of hypothetical actions and events nor only of other people. We commonly represent our own real roles. If we enact real roles in daily life, externally and internally, we also re-enact and pre-enact them. We do so to reflect on and evaluate, to plan and prepare for, our actual dealings with others.

The primary difference between re-enactment and pre-enactment is obviously the relation in time between our representations of events and the events themselves. But this difference also points to a distinction between two senses of the term 'imagined'. In his Study in Aesthetics, Louis Arnaud Reid (1931) considers this distinction in discussing the nature of aesthetic experiences. Are such experiences, he asks, always perceptual experiences? In reading a poem, for example, although we see or hear the words, and this in itself is a perceptual experience, an essential part of our aesthetic experience of the poem derives, not from the perception of the words themselves, but from our apprehension of what they are describing. The 'golden glade' of the poem is not literally perceived but imagined. In this context Reid distinguishes between using 'imagined' in the sense of:

- (i) imaging and imaginal;
- (ii) imagining and imaginary.

Our apprehension of the 'golden glade' is not necessarily of a fictitious - i.e. imaginary - place. It may be quite real but present only 'in the mind's eye': i.e. imaginally, or as-an-image. In such circumstances, we are having and responding to what Reid calls 'imaginal perceptual experience'. As he notes, the word 'perceptual' is really superfluous here. Its use emphasises that:

'..... what we apprehend when we image is not a different kind of world e.g. a world of images made of 'mental' or psychical stuff, but that it is the same world as the world we perceive in ordinary life.'

(Reid: 1931, p33)

In re-enacting experience, we begin with imaginal experience of real events. I say 'begin' because, in the course of re-enactment, we may change, embellish and edit our original perceptions. We may act imaginatively upon the imaginal events. Re-enactment differs from pure fantasy in being a re-presentation of actual experience. When we depart from this, re-enactment in the strict sense gives way to role-play in the general sense.

### 9.1.2 Living in the future perfect

Pre-enacted experience is imagined too, but in the more usual sense of its being suppositional. In pre-enactment we posit events in the future tense; or, more strictly, as Schutz (1967) argues, in the future perfect tense.

Pre-enactment is intrinsic to the deliberation of future conduct. Dewey (1930) describes this as:-

'.....a dramatic rehearsal in imagination of various competing lines of

action ..... It is an experiment in making various combinations of selected elements of habits and impulses to see what the resultant action would be like if it were entered upon.'

(1930 , p190)

Schutz distinguishes on this basis between projecting and fantasying. As before, fantasy suggests freedom from any limits imposed by reality. When I fantasise it is for me to,

'..... ascertain what is within my reach and to determine what is within my power ..... It is thinking in the optative mode.'

(Schutz: 1967, p72)

'Projection' on the other hand - 'pre-enactment' in our present terms - is an anticipation of actual events by way of fantasy.

Elsewhere, Schutz (1967) makes a distinction between 'action', which he characterises as the 'process of conduct', and the 'act', that is, the outcome or accomplished action. The starting point for projection (pre-enactment) is the future act rather than the future action. For, in order to anticipate what my future actions will be, I must first visualise the state of affairs which I want to bring about. Accordingly I have to place myself at a future time,

'..... when this action will already have been accomplished, when the resulting act will already have been materialised. Only then may I reconstruct the single steps which will have brought forth this future act.'

(Schutz: 1967, p69)

Pre-enactment, therefore, begins with the anticipation of our real acts in the future perfect tense and relates to what we suppose will be the actual circumstances of our actions. When we depart from these constraints, pre-enactment also gives way to more general role-play.

Role-play generally denotes our representations:

- (i) of our own roles, real and imaginary;
- (ii) of other people's roles, real and  
imaginary

Re-enactment and pre-enactment specifically refer, within this, to the representation of real roles; that is, to specific forms of role-play.

## 9.2 Ceremonial: symbolic enactment

Role-play and role-enactment are names for opposite ends of a spectrum. An important middle point is taken with the actions of ceremonial. The Church Mass, the Opening of Parliament, Coronations, Inaugurations, and so on, are characterised by ritualised actions which observe strict conventions of symbolism and express precise meanings and relationships.

For some social theorists, including Gurvitch (1973), for example, the styles of formal ceremonial make the metaphor of the Theatrum Mundi irresistible, and it is here, above all, that the theatrical elements of daily life seem most prominent. But, although there are some obvious parallels, there are also certain crucial differences between ceremonial and theatrical performances in particular and role-play in general; differences in function.

Role-play, including the highly specialised forms found in theatres, consists in observations and reflections on social experience. Ceremonial, however, is a living expression of the implicit institutional structures of a given social order. Role-play and ceremonial, although both are representational, take place within different provinces of meaning. In our present terminology, where theatre derives from the playing of symbolic roles, ceremonial is the symbolic enactment of real roles.

Ceremonial is a celebration of institutional order and as such it plays an important part in its maintenance. Role-play has no such allegiance. The inherent conservatism of ceremonial is implied in Berger and Luckman's (1971) analysis of the relations of individual roles to social institutions. Institutions are the skeletal structures of social life. They evolve as typifications of forms of social action in relation to shared goals. Although they may and do become reified, a point to which we will return in the next chapter, institutions, like individual roles, are not 'things'. They exist only as patterns of relationships. Institutions become embedded in individual experience in the form of roles. Since all institutionalised conduct involves the enactment of roles, the process of enacting them shares 'in the controlling character of institutionalisation' (Berger and Luckman: 1971, p92). Thus, role-enactment both realises and represents the institutional order. This is so in two ways:

'..... First, performance of the role represents itself. For instance, to engage in judging is to represent the role of judge. The judging individual is not acting on his own but qua judge. Second, the role represents an entire institutional nexus of conduct. The role of judge stands



in relationship to other roles,  
the totality of which comprises  
the institution of law.

(Berger and Luckman: 1971, p92)

There is a sense in which all roles realise and represent the institutional structures of a society. But some roles are more significant than others of the social order as a whole, in that they represent, not only this or that institution, but also the ways in which the dominant institutions are integrated. The demonstration of these relationships plays a central part in maintaining them, by reinforcing their presence in individual and group consciousness.<sup>9</sup>

The ritualised gestures of ceremonial are symbolic demonstrations of the structures of social life and seek to maintain them. Where the actor playing a role asks to be believed 'as if he/she were', the participant in ceremonial asks to be recognised for what he/she is. Although theatre and ceremonial are both integral features of social life, where theatre provides metaphors, ceremonial deals in analogue.

### 9.3 Affectation: the intention to deceive

One further corollary should be noted here. It is that the intentions and conventions of role-play may be dissimulated. We may represent others in the hope of being mistaken for them. Affectation, or intentional deception, differs from role-play in so far as the conventions of meaning are not mutually acknowledged. On the contrary we intend the symbolic role to be taken for a real one. As Harold Rosen puts it:

'..... for drama to be effective  
we must know it for what it is.  
For affectation to achieve its  
goal we must fail to detect it.'

(Rosen; 1980, p156 )

This is common enough in confidence tricks but it also happens sometimes in drama lessons and also in TIE programmes, where the teacher or actor/teacher meets the class, 'in role' without the class knowing it. This opens up questions to do with 'imitation', 'pretence' and the relation of these to acting out; and, indeed, with whether or not this is still drama or theatre-in-education at all. I will want to consider some aspects of this in looking, in Chapter 6, at the concepts of 'expression' and of 'representation' in drama.

## 10 Role-play: acting and acting-out

Dramatising, then, is a much more pervasive process than the specialist activities of theatre or of drama lessons. It emerges from the general capacity for representational behaviour. How, then, do these various distinctions relate to the notions of acting and of acting-out?

### 10.1 Role-play and acting-out

Acting and acting-out are sustained forms of role-play. Acting-out differs from spontaneous role-play in everyday life in three respects:

(1) It is collective:

It is rare, except among young children, for groups of people to assume symbolic roles together. More commonly, individuals move spontaneously in and out of role during their general dealings with each other. Acting-out is a group activity.

(2) It is sustained:

Everyday role-play tends to be random and fleeting, linked as it is to changing functions of discourse. In the drama session, the symbolic

roles may be sustained over comparatively long periods and be linked to an agreed theme.

(3) It is purposeful:

Acting-out is not just part of group behaviour in the drama session. It is central to the formal purposes of the group. The transition from real to symbolic roles is formal and intended.

## 10.2 Acting-out and acting

I noted in the last chapter that acting-out is not drama. The drama is the encounter between the participants. Playing roles is purely the process by which a drama is created. This points to a basic distinction between acting-out and acting in its usual sense.

Acting-out is an exploratory activity and it is improvised. The drama is evolved by the participants as they take part. Neither the outcomes nor the exact course of the drama are known to anyone in advance.

Acting on the other hand is the presentation of a pre-created drama known to the actors at least, and not improvised. Although, like real and symbolic roles, these activities are distinguishable here, they may lap into each other in practice. Nor does this distinction between acting and acting out correspond to the difference between theatre and drama. Theatre is the encounter between actors and audience during the presentation of a drama. The drama itself, however, may be pre-created or improvised on the spot - as with Italian commedia dell'arte, for example - or be a mixture of both. Theatre, in other words, may involve acting and/or acting-out.

The difference between drama and theatre lies in the structure of the social encounter: the difference between acting and acting-out is to do with the process of composing the drama itself.

## 11 Summary

I have argued a general distinction between real and symbolic roles and that the process of dramatising has its roots in a general form of social action. I have distinguished these senses of role in terms of the participants' sense of intention and convention and have looked at three main corollaries. On this basis I have clarified the use I am making of the terms acting and acting-out.

This now leaves us with our pressing question. Why should children be asked to act-out at all? In turning to this question I want to analyse further the central notions both of 'symbolism' and of 'everyday social reality' and to argue that it is in the relationship between these two ideas, and correspondingly of real and symbolic roles, that the general functions of drama in education are best understood.

CHAPTER FIVETHE NEGOTIATION OF MEANING1 Reasons for the chapter

- (i) To look in more detail at the basis for distinguishing between 'real' and 'symbolic' roles.
- (ii) In doing so to present an epistemology which, in its dialectical nature, departs from the basic assumptions of the rational and natural paradigms.
- (iii) To draw out the implications of this for creativity and self-expression.
- (iv) To argue that drama is best understood not in terms of bodies of knowledge or of 'creative self-expression' but as a 'way of knowing' defined in relation to the 'negotiation of meaning'.

This chapter sets out necessarily to cover a good deal of ground. It does not, therefore, pursue in the same detail all of the issues which it raises. The breadth of argument is necessary, however, because I want here to try to re-orientate the debate about drama in schools. Doing so will involve moving some way from drama at first, so as to draw in more general themes. These will be developed in specific relation to drama in the chapters which follow.

2 Individualism re-visited

I have characterised rational individualism as being associated with:

- (i) education of mind;
- (ii) objectivity and bodies of knowledge;

(iii) transmission and initiation;

and natural individualism with:

- (i) education of the whole person;
- (ii) subjectivity and self-expression;
- (iii) education.

I argued that drama teaching developed during the 1950's and 1960's amid a growing interest in natural individualism and in progressive teaching styles, and that pressures of accountability have led many teachers to try to legitimate their work using rationalist models of assessment. Having identified the essential features of dramatic activity and their basis in very general forms of behaviour, I want now to disentangle drama teaching from both sets of individualistic assumptions and also from these apparently objective forms of assessment.

Both rational and natural paradigms posit individual growth as a-social. Our analysis so far, however, has produced a number of points which are difficult to reconcile with either of these paradigms.

The rational paradigm, for example, sees the nature of reality being revealed only by the impersonal processes of discursive reason. Knowledge of the real world is thought to exist independently of persons and we acquire it only in certain states of mind. We have seen, however, that both real and symbolic roles partake in everyday reality and that the relationship between them, as between imaginal and imaginary experience, is frequently ambiguous. What appears to us as real may not to another, nor indeed to ourselves, at a later point. These ambiguities indicate the highly problematic nature of these notions of reality and objectivity.

The natural paradigm, on the other hand, sees individuality as an innate seed which will germinate provided the constraining social pressures are relaxed. We noted earlier, however, that:

(i) different individuals assume different roles in the same social settings;

(ii) the same individual assumes different roles in different social settings.

The argument I now want to make explicit is that individual development is inherently social; that in Laing's terms, our sense of individual identity, 'requires the existence of another by whom one is known' (Laing: 1969, p139). The individual is best understood, moreover, not so much as a lone figure facing an amorphous pressure to conform, as part of a living mosaic of reciprocating pressures.

In both respects, these a-social models of the individual take insufficient account of the ways in which we are not detached from, but dialectically related to, each other and to the material world.

### 3 Dialectical epistemologies

Rational and natural paradigms have grown respectively from 17th century Rationalism and Empiricism and from 18th century Romanticism. There is a third grouping of theoretical work, however, which offers a more fertile and altogether more congruent account of the functions of drama in schools. This is represented by the work of, for example, Susanne Langer (1951, 1953, 1964); A N Whitehead (1927); Edmund Husserl (1958, 1970); Alfred Schutz (1967, 1972); Max Weber (1957); Ernst Cassirer (1953); William James (1890); George Kelly (1963); Michael Polanyi (1969), and Karl Popper (1969) among many others.

Although there is considerable dissidence among these over often quite fundamental points of theory, they are identifiable as a grouping in having developed their various systems out of a number of shared assumptions about the processes of personal consciousness and of the nature of our knowledge of the world.

Two related assumptions are key. The first is that personal consciousness is not a passive receptacle of knowledge, but that we actively invest meanings in our experiences of the world, that knowledge is, in an important sense, personal. The second is that knowledge thus constituted is not a corpus of detached fact with an ontological status of its own; neither is it the unshareable product of introspection. It evolves, and changes, through a constant process of conjecture and communication between individuals and is both socially constructed and socially distributed; knowledge, that is, is also inter-personal.

#### 4 The subject and object worlds

In his study of The Intelligence of Feeling, Robert Witkin re-states the founding distinction of modern philosophy; that the individual lives not in one world but in two.

'..... There is a world that exists beyond the individual, a world that exists whether or not he exists ..... There is another world, however, a world that exists only because the individual exists. It is the world of his own sensations and feelings. He shares the former world with others, for it is a world of facts, of public space, of 'objects'. He shares the second world with no-one. It is the world of private space and of the solitary subject.'

(Witkin: 1974, p1)



We will need to qualify this distinction as we go on, particularly the notion of 'facts' and the elision of 'sensation' and 'feelings'. But in general we recognise the truth of this as common sense; that, as Laing puts it:

'..... we can only be ourselves in and through our world and there is a sense in which "our" world will die with us although "the" world will go on without us.'

(Laing: 1965, p19)

We know that in certain respects we are irredeemably alone; that 'within the territory of ourselves there can only be our footprints' (Ibid., p37). The recognition of this division marks an important stage in the development of personal autonomy.<sup>1</sup>

The formalisation of this distinction in modern philosophy has its roots in Descartes' cogito. In Cartesian terms, however, this common sense distinction begs the most important questions of all. How do we know that there is a world beyond our personal consciousness and how are we to have knowledge of it?

Although sceptical philosophers since Descartes have been busy dismantling public confidence in the existence of a material world, their positivist counterparts in the natural and physical sciences have simply assumed that it is there and have set about bringing it under control. To these, and to others, even sceptical philosophers seem to carry on living in the world, despite its potential inexistence.

This positivist outlook is not so much a rejection of empirical doubts, however, as an illustration that in daily life, as Russell remarks, we assume as certain many things which on closer scrutiny are found to be full of apparent

contradictions ' (1970, p1). The outer world may be a chimera, but for everyday purposes I assume it is not and that the people I see around me really are there and acting on the same assumption. The theoretical difficulties in proving any of this, to which Descartes drew attention, are not resolved in daily life. They are ignored. However tantalising they may be, they become evident only in being attended to; that is, within certain states of consciousness.

There are two main points here. The first, as exemplified by sceptical and positivist empiricists, is that the same events may appear differently to different observers. The second is that the same events may appear differently to the same observer, in different states of mind; like the sceptical philosopher who digs the garden just the same.

The Cartesian dualism directly challenged the naive attitude of daily life, the taken-for-granted assumption that the realities of the material world are just as they are presented by the senses. Descartes conclusion was that, if we must doubt the existence of the outer world, we must at least accept the existence of the inner one. This poses three major questions:

- (i) how is our knowledge of the outer world constituted?
- (ii) how can this knowledge be legitimated?
- (iii) how can we know its relations to other people's, assuming they are there?

These questions have been of central interest, not only in modern philosophy, but also increasingly in the emerging 'sociology of knowledge' and in particular to those theorists loosely labelled as phenomenologists and as symbolic interactionists.<sup>2</sup> From among the many crossing

lines of these analyses I want to draw out three central themes. Those of;

- (i) symbolisation;
- (ii) the 'intentionality' of consciousness;
- (iii) personal constructs;

and to discuss two general sets of ideas which emerge from these to do with:

- (i) the notion of 'provinces of meaning';
- (ii) the creative mind.

## 5 Representing experience

### 5.1 A general capacity

I have so far used the notion of symbolisation in relation to a certain sort of role and in connection with ceremonial. I have also associated it with a general capacity for representation. There are, however, few areas of human activity which are not shot through with symbolism of one sort or another. If as Winnicott (1974) suggests, the first evidence of this is in the use of 'transitional objects', symbolisation proper soon becomes a pervasive feature of all of the child's dealings in the world. The acquisition of articulate speech is perhaps the most striking example of this. But other formal systems are learnt for other purposes: from the abstract relational categories of mathematics to the denotative system of musical symbols; from the highly conventionalised routines of religious symbolism to the patterns of art and the esoteric symbols of dreams and the unconscious. Representing the world is, as Kelly (1963) puts it, a prime mode of acting in it. For these reasons, Langer (1951) rejects the view in genetic psychology that the brain is a straightforward transmitter of messages to the motor centres, and argues

instead that symbolisation is both a basic need and the basic process of mind; the incessant action of human intelligence.

'..... For the brain is not merely a great transmitter, a super-switchboard: it is better likened to a great transformer. The current of experience that passes through it undergoes a change of character, not through the agency of the sense by which the perception entered but by virtue of a primary use which is made of it immediately; it is sucked into the stream of symbols which constitutes a human mind.'

(Langer: 1951, p46)

Like 'role', 'symbolism' has attracted considerable theoretic interest, notably in psychology and psychiatry, but also in sociology and in linguistics: in, for example, the work of Edward Sapir (1949); L S Vygotsky (1962); Benjamin Whorf (1966); William Labov (1972), and A S Luria (1959). I want here to focus on some central points of definition.

## 5.2 The concept of symbol

### 5.2.1 A function not a quality

Anything will serve as a symbol: sounds, patches of colour, objects, people, animals alive or dead. Symbolism, as Langer (1951) has demonstrated, is not a material quality which something has; it is a function it is given. In general, a symbol is any item which is given a meaning.

The symbolic function of such an item depends on its place in a pattern. In the simplest meaning-patterns, which Langer identifies as 'signification', there are at least two other elements related to the thing that 'means': an object that is meant and a subject who uses the term. A sign<sup>3</sup> and its object are directly correlated: e.g. a scar with a former

wound, a bell with fire. The subject relates to them as a pair. A symbol, however, unlike a signal, is not directly correlated with an object or event but with a conception of them. To conceive of an object or situation is not the same thing as to react toward it overtly or to look for its presence. In talking about things,

'..... we have conceptions of  
them ..... and it is the conceptions,  
not the things, that symbols directly  
"mean".'

(Langer: 1951, p61)

In the simplest meaning pattern of symbolism, therefore, there are not three elements, but four: the subject, the symbol, the conception, the object.

### 5.2.2 Logical and psychological meaning

How then does one item come to occupy this place in the meaning-pattern? Langer provides two approaches to this in distinguishing between the logical and the psychological aspects of meaning.

Logically, the item must be capable of conveying a meaning:

'..... it must be the sort of item  
that can be thus employed'.

(Langer: 1951, p55)

These requirements differ within various modes of symbolism. Within a discursive symbolism such as language, the meaning is conveyed, not only by the separate lexical items, but by the grammatical and syntactical structures which bind them together. A verbal proposition asserts a state of affairs,

a set of relations to which the structure of the proposition is analogous.

Similarly, a presentational symbol, such as a painting, is not a replica of the object it represents. It displays an arrangement of elements,

'..... analogous to the arrangement of salient visual elements in the object'.

(Langer: 1951, p69)

Its function as a symbol derives from its being an abstraction of the essential forms of the events or objects.

The capacity to create and respond to symbols correspondingly derives from this personal power of abstraction: the capacity to recognise,

'..... the concept in any configuration given to experience',

(Langer: 1951, p70)

the universalium in re: the general in the particular.

Psychologically, the item has to be a symbol to someone. The difference between a sign and its object by virtue of which they are not interchangeable is that the subject, for whom they constitute a pair,

'..... must find one more interesting than the other and the latter more easily available than the former.'

(Langer: 1951, p59)

Alfred Schutz (1967) argues this more precisely in his consideration of Husserl's concept of appresentation of 'analogical apperception'.<sup>4</sup> For Husserl, in all cases of signification and symbolic reference, an object or event which is given to the senses is not experienced as a 'self' but as standing for another object or event which is not immediately available. The former object 'appresents' or calls forth the latter which is thereby 'appresented'.<sup>5</sup>

The distinction between the symbol and its referent is determined by the line of interest of the subject. Rycroft (1968) confirms the principle of this when, in the general terms of Freudian symbolism, he describes symbol-formation as consisting in the displacement of cathexis,

'..... from the idea of an object of primary instinctual interest onto the idea of an object of less instinctual interest'.

(Rycroft: 1968, p53)

At the centre of each of these accounts is the intentional activity of consciousness in creating symbols by investing them with significance. This is precisely the significance of describing symbolism as a function and not a quality of an item.

For as Polanyi puts it in describing discursive speech, 'only a speaker or listener can mean something by a word and a word itself can mean nothing.' A symbol has to be conceived as such by someone who uses it:

'..... this reliance is a personal commitment which is involved in all

acts of intelligence ..... a  
manner of disposing ourselves'.

(Polanyi: 1969, p61)

Symbolism takes place, not so much in the mind,  
as the essential act of mind: as an intentional  
act.

## 6 Intentionality

### 6.1 Personal knowing

Phenomenological analysis begins like Descartes with the assumption that the certain basis for the investigation of knowledge is the activity of the consciousness which undertakes it. A consequent theme of this analysis is that knowledge cannot exist except in such a consciousness: that, whatever the ontological status of its referents, knowledge exists only where there are knowers. Moreover, the corpus of public knowledge consists in structures of ideas and of information which exist only as patterns of symbols. But a sign or a symbol, or any configuration of them, is essentially barren unless and until it is brought to life through an act of understanding; for, 'without such an act, no sign can mean anything' (Pivcevic: 1970, p13).

Into every act of knowing there enters, therefore, 'a tacit and passionate contribution of the person knowing what is being known'. Moreover, this personal co-efficient 'is no mere imperfection, but a necessary component of all knowledge' (Polanyi: 1969, p312).

Accordingly, any enquiry into the nature of knowledge must entail an analysis of the constitutive processes of knowing by means of which our experiences of and within the world are not just endured, but made meaningful.



## 6.2 Intentional objects

Husserl draws an important distinction in this respect between the act of thinking - the cogitare - and the object of thought - the cogitatum. He develops this distinction in relation to the general concept of 'intentionality'.<sup>6</sup>

Consciousness is always intentional: it is always of, or directed towards something. There is, for example,

'..... no such thing as thought, fear, fantasy, remembrance as such: every thought is thought of, every fear is fear of, every remembrance is remembrance of the object that is thought, feared or remembered.'

(Schutz: 1967, p103)

The intentional object need not exist extra-mentally or in any material form. As Pivcevic notes:

'..... From the fact that someone thinks about God, loves God, hates God, desires God, nothing can be inferred about God's actual existence.'

(Pivcevic: 1970, p46)

The intentional object may be apprehended as being part of external reality or as an element of fantasy. But, as Berger and Luckman argue, whether I am looking at the panorama of a city or am conscious of an inner anxiety, despite the evident differences between these states of consciousness, the process is, in both cases, intentional. Moreover, and of some importance here:

'..... Different objects present themselves to consciousness as

constituents of different spheres of reality'.

(Berger and Luckman: 1971, pp34 and 35)

## 7 Constructing reality

### 7.1 Three themes

We have here, then, three major and related themes which bear on the relationship between the subject and object worlds:

- (i) the central place of symbolisation in human consciousness;
- (ii) the personal co-efficient of meaning;
- (iii) the intentional character of consciousness.

How do these bear on the present enquiry?

The force of the distinction between the subject and object worlds is to emphasise that we see the world from a centre within 'the territory of ourselves'. In the introduction to his History of Western Philosophy, Russell asks:

'..... Is man what he seems to the astronomer, a tiny lump of impure carbon and water impotently crawling on a small and unimportant planet? Or is he what he seems to Hamlet? Or is he both at once?'

(Russell: 1961, p13)

As the question makes clear in the fact of being asked, he may be construed as either or as both, according to our line of interest and our frame of reference. In two key respects, however, our perceptions of the world and of ourselves are under constraint; according, that is, to:

- (a) biological factors;
- (b) cultural factors.

## 7.2 The psycho-physical ambient

Perception is affected, in the first instance, by our psycho-physical organisation as human beings. By virtue of our size and the organisation and nature of our sensory organs, we are obliged to experience the world in some ways rather than in others.

The comparative biological researches of van Uexküll (1958) indicate that every organism is constrained by the structure of its effector and receptor organs to cut out,

'..... from the multiplicity of surrounding objects a small number of characteristics to which it reacts and whose ensemble forms its "ambient" (Umwelt)'.

(Von Bertalanffy: 1955, p228)

So, the infusorian, the haddock and the killer whale may live in the same stretch of ocean but inhabit entirely different worlds. If we could reconstruct and enter the ambient specific to any other organism, we would discover a world fundamentally different to our own in many respects.

Equally, our subjective experiences of such apparent absolutes as space and time are profoundly affected by the changes in personal metabolism associated, for example, with the intense subjective experiences of anxiety, or elation; with pathological depression, or with the use of natural and synthetic drugs.<sup>7</sup>

In each of these respects, much of our experience and perception of the world is constrained by our psycho-physical arrangement and physiological condition.

These biological factors have an important bearing on our available field of perception. It is important, however, to distinguish between the perceptual field and our personal apperceptions within it - our picking out of particular phenomena as being significant or insignificant, meaningful or meaningless. And here, other factors begin to impinge.

### 7.3 The socio-cultural ambient

Different observers may see the same events differently. This is partly because we see events from different centres of vision. Our acceptance of these divergences is implicit in the daily homilies about 'getting into someone else's shoes' and trying to 'see things as others see them'. But if differences in perception were really only due to differences in perspective, we might resolve any disagreement simply by canvassing all relevant perspectives and putting together 'an objective overview'. It happens as often, however, that getting everyone's view of an issue only deepens the dispute. For it is not so much that how we see an event determines how we come to look at it, but that how we look at something determines what we actually seen. Our apperception of events occurs within varying frameworks of conceptions, of values and ideas, which dispose us to see events in some ways rather than in others.

George Kelly (1963) talks of representing the world as a prime mode of acting in it, while Langer (1951) describes a word as an 'instrument of thought' and a propositional sentence as a 'picture of a state of affairs'. Language is certainly the most pervasive illustration of the process of representation; and it is within studies of language acquisition that the central implication of this notion of symbolisation has been teased out. This is that language functions not

only as a mode of representing, but also of interpreting experience. For in learning the lexis of a language the child also learns the systems of relations and concepts in which the language principally consists - the inferential structures of ideas within which he/she will then be disposed to organise the meanings of experience. Learning the vernacular of the mother tongue plays a crucial part in the transmission of socially approved knowledge. As Schutz puts it,

'..... The native language can be taken as a set of references which ..... have pre-determined what features of the world are worthy of being expressed and therewith what qualities of these features and what relations among them deserve attention.'

(Schutz: 1967, p349)<sup>8</sup>

For this reason Karl Popper (1969) describes all language as being 'theory-impregnated'. Vygotsky aptly summarises this position by asserting that;

'..... thought is not merely expressed in words, it comes into existence through them ..... words play a central part not only in the development of thought but in the historical growth of consciousness as a whole.'

(Vygotsky: 1962, pp 125 and 153)

For Liublinskaya, language is intrinsic to the everyday 'mechanism of thought'. Accordingly:

'..... the mastery of words, signaling different relations among the phenomena of the objective world, is of particular significance for the development of perceptual activity.'

(Liublinskaya: 1957, p204)

The work of Edward Sapir has been key in the study of language acquisition and of its social functions. He emphasises, however, that the interpretational frameworks of language, although the most influential, are none the less outcrops of a still more general process. It is best to admit, he says,

'..... that language is primarily a vocal actualisation of the tendency to see reality symbolically - an actualisation in terms of vocal expression of the tendency to master reality, not by direct ad hoc handling of this element, but by the reduction of experience to familiar form.'

(Sapir: 1949, pp 14 - 15)

In learning a language, the child learns a culture. In doing so, he/she learns equally to cut out from the multiplicity of the perceptual field a number of characteristics to which he/she will give particular meanings. The ensemble of these forms his/her cultural ambient.

Such culturally specific frameworks act as filters on perceptions, toning them in to our varying pictures of what social reality is like. Apperception, in other words, takes place within a frame of conceptions which are learnt, and which, we must note, are capable of change.

## 8 The organisation of meanings

The view I have outlined here is central to phenomenological analysis and to derived systems of for example Gestalt psychology. It has also been elaborated in detail in the anthropological linguistics of Benjamin Whorf (1966); the

developmental psychology of Jean Piaget (1959), and the linguistic researches of William Labov (1978) and of A.R. Luria (1959), among others. It has also been extended by George Kelly (1963) in his delineation of the theory of 'personal constructs'. There are a number of related themes in these analyses which I want to draw out here.

### 8.1 Construing and enduring

The universe, as Kelly puts it, can be measured along a dimension of time. It exists by happening. A man's experience is that bit of it which happens to him. We are not always focally aware, however, of the events in our field of perception. The stream of personal consciousness is essentially bedouin, moving in and out of imaginal re-enactment to fantasy, pre-enactment and back to contemplation of the perceptual field.<sup>9</sup>

For Kelly, this reciprocation of consciousness with actual events is essential to the definition of 'experience'. Experience is not constituted merely by the succession of events themselves. A person can be witness to a tremendous parade of episodes, and yet,

'..... if he fails to keep making something of them or if he waits until they have all occurred before he attempts to reconstrue them, he gains little in the way of experience from having been around when they happened.'

(Kelly: 1963, p73)

Meaning-making is an intentional process consisting in a dialectic between what we know already and what is happening now. It involves construing events within patterns of ideas and values. These patterns of meaning function as psychological maps by means of which we try to find our bearings within the general landscape of the social and physical world.

## 8.2 The personal dialectic

The recognition of the person as a bestower of meanings directly confronts the view of knowledge as 'object'. Instead, we have the individual subject forging knowledge and belief out of the raw material of his/her experience of him/herself and of others. The focus of epistemological enquiry thereby undergoes an important change of focus from,

'..... how man absorbs knowledge so that he can replicate it, to how the individual creatively synthesises and generates knowledge and what are its social origins and consequences'.

(Esland: 1971, p77)

Although existing categories of thought pre-dispose us to certain lines of interpretation, it is clear that the strength and coherence of these categories is also constantly tested in the flow of novel experience. Language evolves because circumstances change and because new ideas are needed to account for the unforeseen. All living languages are open:

'..... New words and new combinations of words emerge continually because of new problems, new situations for which habitualised ways of acting and thinking are inadequate'.

(Miller: 1973, p170)

Personal knowledge thus evolves, dialectically, a process which Piaget (1959) describes as one of 'assimilation' and 'accommodation'. This dialectic may slow down or be stopped, of course, through age, doctrine or cloistering, giving way to an unflinching allegiance to a crystallised set of ideas- a kind of mental sclerosis or hardening of the categories. Our ideas can emancipate or enslave us.<sup>10</sup>



For if events can be construed, they can be misconstrued and re-construed. Kelly's notion of constructive alternativism posits simply that, in this respect,

'..... no-one needs to be completely hemmed in by circumstances: no-one needs to be the victim of his biography'.

(Kelly: 1963, p15)

## 9 Provinces of meaning

### 9.1 The natural attitude

The same event may appear differently to different observers. But so, too, may the same event to the same observer within different states of consciousness. It is in relation to this that we can talk of symbolic roles being experienced 'as real'.

Schutz recognised, like Russell, that, however tantalising the problems may be of proving that the object world exists, these only become evident in being attended to. Unlike Russell, however, Schutz took this to be the departure point for all epistemological enquiries. These should begin, he maintained, not with critiques of specialist epistemological theory but with an investigation of what we may call here the ideologies of common sense: the tacit presuppositions and beliefs, ideas and values which comprise a person's taken-for-granted view of the way the world is. Schutz characterised this mode of consciousness as the 'natural attitude' to daily life, and recognised that it was this, rather than formal articulate theory, which directs our everyday actions in the world.

The natural attitude is a naive positivism in which the world is not one of bogus impressions but,

'..... one of well-circumscribed objects among which we move, which resist us and upon which we may act'.

(Schutz: 1967, p208)

Neither is this the lone world of a solitary subject. It is recognised unquestioningly as an 'intersubjective' world. We accept that the others we see are real and that in some degree there is between us a 'reciprocity of perspectives' - that the objects and events of the world appear to us in more or less the same way. The concept of 'normality' is thus inherently intersubjective, deriving from 'the implicit assumptions common sense makes about the structure of sensory perceptions' (Schutz: 1967, p ii).

In these terms, we can now put the definition of real social roles more succinctly as the enactment of relations between individuals in the natural attitude. In what sense then are symbolic roles experienced as real?

## 9.2 Tensions of consciousness

The natural attitude is the dominant, but not the only mode of consciousness. I described personal consciousness as bedouin. In Bergson's terms, we are constantly experiencing changes in the 'tensions' of consciousness; attending to different intentional objects and to different aspects of them. William James (1890) refers to our dwelling in 'sub-universes' each of which has its own cognitive style and conventions of meaning and upon each of which we may temporarily bestow 'the accent of reality'.

There are many instances of these transitions between sub-universes including the drift into day-dream; the detachment of religious contemplation; the focussing of

scientific analysis; the imaginal perceptions which accompany some forms of reading; the dwelling in what Langer (1953) calls the 'virtual space' of a painting and the projection into the depicted events of a play.

Schutz prefers the term 'finite provinces of meaning' to denote such variations in the planes of consciousness so as to emphasise that within these various states of awareness,

'..... it is the meaning of our experiences and not the ontological structures of the objects which constitutes reality'.

(Schutz: 1967, p230)

Any object, mental or material may become real for me in the act of my attending to it.

These provinces of meaning are not separated regions of mental life but different tensions of the same consciousness. They are finite in so far as experiences which may be self-consistent within one may appear vexed and incompatible in another; just as the plausible events of dreams and the transcendental visions of religion may appear irrational to the natural attitude or to that of discursive, scientific analysis. They are nevertheless experienced as real in the appropriate attitude.

Husserl's principal analytic technique for overcoming the presuppositions of the natural attitude is the performance of the 'phenomenological epoche'. This is a radicalisation of Descartes' cogito in which all existing structures of thought - including those of mathematical reasoning - are suspended or put 'in brackets'. The movement between different provinces of

meaning involves comparable, though usually less disciplined acts of bracketing as we bestow the accent of reality on certain intentional objects and experiences and withdraw it from others which no longer stand 'within the focus of our attentional interest'. (Schutz: 1967, p233)

In the natural attitude, for example, we do not suspend belief in the object world, as the sceptical philosopher does when in the theoretical attitude. We suspend our doubts. We perform a comparable act of bracketing in watching or participating in symbolic role-play: suspending the realities of the natural attitude and temporarily bestowing the accent of reality on the events being represented - dwelling in them as a quasi-reality - as real.

We exist in such terms, not in one, but in multiple realities - or rather with a multiple sense of reality - each being enlivened by shifts in the tensions of consciousness, and each engaging different conventions of perception and of meaning.

## 10 Ways of knowing

I have been arguing that:

- (i) knowledge is a function of living minds and does not exist independently of them;
- (ii) we are constrained by biological factors to perceive and by cultural factors to apperceive the world in particular ways;
- (iii) the structures of ideas, beliefs and values, within which we apperceive the world, evolve dialectically with the flow of novel experience;

- (iv) Consciousness is not homogeneous but moves through a variety of planes of attention, each of which within varying conventions of meaning, we experience for the time as real- as quasi-realities.

These observations have far-reaching implications for both rationalist and naturalist models of personal development, and consequently for the curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation of formal education.

#### 10.1 Types of theory

Schutz writes of 'finite provinces of meaning'; Bergson of 'tensions of consciousness'; James of 'sub-universes' and George Kelly of the 'realms of convenience' of personal constructs. Arthur Koestler (1975), in his study of creative thought, uses the term 'matrices of thought', and there are other comparable terms in common use: e.g. 'associative contexts'; 'universes of discourse'; 'frames of reference'.

Behind each of these conceptions is a common concept: that experience is not one but multi-dimensional and that, correspondingly, we know the world not in one but in many different ways.

Laing (1965) asserts that the same thing seen from two different points of view gives rise to two entirely different descriptions and the descriptions give rise to two entirely different theories. We can go beyond this now and say that it may give rise to two entirely different types of theory. For ideas and beliefs which may be tenable within one frame of reference may not only be implausible in another but literally inconceivable.

The distinction between logical and psychological aspects of meaning argues that, logically, a symbol needs

to be compatible in form with the salient features of the represented experience. We rely, in other words, on different forms of symbolism to formulate and express our experiences within different provinces of meaning.

When Blake writes:

O Rose thou art sick!  
The invisible worm  
That flies in the night  
In the howling storm

Has found out thy bed  
Of crimson joy  
And his secret love  
Doth thy life destroy,

he knows that these meanings can be rendered in no other way and remain the same. No mathematical formula can express the exact gesture of this; just as surely as no systematic physics can be carried forward entirely in poetry.

## 10.2 Discursive and presentational forms

Langer (1951) distinguishes in this respect between discursive and presentational symbols. Discursive symbolism is serial; one symbol follows another in sequences which are governed by systematic rules of syntax. This does well for ideas and experiences which can be laid out sequentially. But, in many cases, putting an idea into words is, as she notes, like stringing clothes out on a line when in practice they are worn one inside the other.

Presentational symbols, on the other hand, give the whole pattern of meaning simultaneously. A picture or a painting is a single, unique and complex symbol which is available to the observer entirely at once. In these forms we can organise ideas which do not fall into the

systematic configurations of a discursive symbolism.<sup>11</sup>  
 The painter, the poet and the musician work within different forms of symbolism through the varying logics of which they formulate and express different types of perception. So too does the dancer; the sculptor; the dramatist; and the scientist. These are not distinguishable in terms of the raw subject-matter of their work, which may overlap or coincide, but by the different forms in which they constitute their knowledge of it - the different ways in which it is known.

For all of these reasons, it seems more congruent to think, not in terms of discrete and detached bodies of knowledge, but rather of different ways of knowing; each with its characteristic logic, and rationality and each, we may argue, with its own place in the formal curriculum.<sup>12</sup>

#### 11 Reason and emotion

Descartes hoped to puncture illusion and sophistry through sceptical reasoning. His aim was to suspend common sense knowledge of the world so as to penetrate beneath it. But his method was to substitute this one set of constructs with another; in this case the models of inference and deduction of mathematics and geometry.<sup>13</sup>

Husserl hoped to go beyond this by suspending all existing structures of analysis. A trained mathematician, he rejected such models as being themselves too much a product of the experiences the philosopher must seek to understand. He wanted instead to develop a 'pre-suppositionless philosophy', distilling facts only from the phenomenal nature of experience itself.

In common with Descartes, however, Husserl excluded emotions and feelings from this analysis. The empirical tradition in

science has endorsed this exile of feeling, accepting as knowledge only that which can be proved by demonstration to be true. In each of these intellectualist systems, the ineffable is the unknowable.

As Langer ironically puts it, genuine human thought thus seems to be at best 'a tiny grammar-bound island in the midst of a sea of feeling'. There is a periphery, of mud:

'..... factual and hypothetical concepts broken down by the emotional tides into "the material mode", a mixture of meaning and nonsense'.

(Langer: 1951, p82)

The problem for rational/empiricist models is, of course, that we spend the better part of our lives on this mud-flat. But in artistic moods,

'..... we take to the deep ..... (with) propositions about life and death, good and evil, substance, beauty and other non-existent topics.'

(Ibid., p82)

The abiding problem for the arts is the persistence of this apparent antipathy of reason and emotion: the one apparently leading to pure knowledge, the other no-where; the one wholly objective, the other 'merely' subjective<sup>14</sup>; the one useful, the other not.

In the context of such antipathies, the arts have come to be set against sciences as forms of expression which can offset the impersonal character of intellectual work, or as means of promoting creativity to offset the clinical processes of the laboratory. These equations need to be fundamentally re-considered.



## 12 Objectivity and self-expression

The relationship between 'objectivity' and 'subjectivity' has been a conundrum of Western philosophy ever since Descartes. A welter of issues is raised in this, which cannot be pursued in any detail here. I do want to clarify the general use I will be making of these terms, however, and also to draw out two major implications of the analysis I have outlined so far, commenting briefly on each of them. These are that:

- (1) there is a personal co-efficient of all knowing even of the most seemingly objective kind;
- (2) all formulative acts of knowing within any universe of discourse - in arts or science - are by definition 'creative'.

I also want to argue that creative activity of any kind, in arts or science, has an expressive element.

### 12.1 The personal co-efficient

Brian Simon (1978) has described the problems of confronting scientific opinion especially where it supports prevailing ideologies. It is often assumed, as he notes, to be,

'..... above reproach, beyond social influence ..... conceived in the rarefied atmosphere of purely scientific enquiry by some process of immaculate conception'.

(See Chapter Two, 6.3.1 above)

This popular image<sup>15</sup> needs to be qualified here by recognising that the work of scientists involves personal commitment in four ways:

- (i) in the choice of problem;
- (ii) in accepting the inferential structures of scientific enquiry;
- (iii) in the exercise of personal judgement;
- (iv) in accepting inter-personal standards of legitimation.

#### 12.1.1 Choosing a problem

A work of art, as Louis Arnaud Reid (1931) points out simply, may be about anything whatever that happens to interest the artist. We can say equally that a work of science can be about anything whatever that happens to interest the scientist. But a good deal hangs by this.

Nothing is a problem unless someone sees it as such. One of the scientist's first moves, therefore, is to identify an area of enquiry, a set of problems which engages his/her interest. Why this problem rather than that? This choice is necessarily implicated in a web of interests and of motivations which impell him/her as a person.<sup>16</sup> The history of scientific progress is, after all, one of individuals becoming passionately engaged, not in any or all, but in quite specific problems which draw their personal energies.

Polanyi finds it legitimate, in this respect, to talk of the 'intellectual passions' of science. Passions are expressions of value. Positive passions affirm that something is precious. The excitement of a scientist making a discovery,

'..... is an intellectual passion telling us that something is precious and more particularly that it is precious to science'.

(Polanyi: 1969, p136)

This affirmation is not a psychological by-product but part of the dynamic of scientific investigations - the expression of a necessary personal commitment to the problems at hand.

#### 12.1.2 Structures of ideas

Just as Descartes unquestioningly accepted the heuristic powers of mathematics and geometry, in undertaking his/her own investigations, the scientist also accepts the legitimacy of certain structures of ideas and modes of procedure. In essence, he/she identifies him/herself with particular frameworks of interpretation, committing his/her energies to their reliability. So:

'..... the astronomer .....  
presupposes the validity of  
mathematics, the mathematician  
..... the validity of logic and  
so on'.

(Pivcevic: 1970, p15)

The whole framework of scientific enquiry would be collapsed if these structures were proved faulty. The scientist, like any other, is rational 'only to the extent that the conceptions to which he is committed are true' (Polanyi: 1969, p112).

#### 12.1.3 Personal judgement

Although particular interpretative frameworks are given tacit assent in this way, the course of scientific enquiry is not, therefore, pre-given. Hypotheses need to be formulated and experiments designed. Within these procedural constraints therefore the scientist must exercise a considerable degree of personal judgement, both in the creation and the conduct of the enquiry. And when

the statistics have been coded and tabulated, the need to analyse and interpret - to give them meaning - is still there.

At the epi-centre of all scientific undertakings there is an element of personal judgement which cannot be exorcised. Any attempt to do so would, in any case, be hard to explain, since this capacity for personal judgement is probably the most sensitive 'instrument' available to science.

#### 12.1.4 Subjective and objective meanings: inter-personal standards

On all of these accounts, however, the propositions deriving from scientific enquiry may still properly be called 'objective'. This does not mean that they are necessarily 'true'. The distinction is an important one. The scientist, in addition to these personal commitments, is obliged to pursue his/her enquiries within procedures and according to criteria which are not held by him/her alone but which are held in common within the professional communities of science.

The distinction I want to draw between subjective and objective meanings is derived from this.

The subjective meaning of an action is the meaning it has for the person whose action it is. Accordingly, any action has only one set of subjective meanings which are inescapably personal. But this does not mean that objective meanings are therefore impersonal: nor, by definition, can they be. They are those which derive from actions and events being considered in relation to criteria of judgement which are inter-personal - that is, which are mutually agreed by a group or community.<sup>17</sup>

But, if the objectivity or otherwise of a proposition is determined by its accordance with such inter-personal criteria of legitimation, this still does not guarantee that the proposition corresponds with the way things are.<sup>18</sup>

Objectivity is not a sufficient condition for the truth of a proposition. A principal reason for this is that,

'..... the world of objective knowledge (or more generally of the objective spirit) is man-made'.

(Popper: 1969, p147)

It is subject, therefore, to those processes of formulation and reformulation which apply equally to all forms of knowing. Moreover, the propositions which are warrantable as facts within one community of discourse may not be so within another. Strictly speaking, there are no such things as facts pure and simple:

'..... All facts are from the outset facts selected from a universal context by the activities of our mind. They are, therefore, always interpreted facts, either facts looked at as detached from their context by an artificial abstraction or facts considered in their particular setting'.

(Schutz: 1967, p5)

This does not mean, of course, that there is no 'objective reality' or that all attempts to know it are fated. It means, rather, that within any universe of discourse, at any given moment,

'..... we grasp merely certain aspects of it, namely those which are relevant to us either for carrying on our business of living or from the point of view of a body of accepted rules of procedure of thinking called the method of science'.

(Schutz: 1967, p5)

The problematic relationship between objectivity and truth derives from the tendency for such rules to be re-framed as new circumstances are presented or through the incessant reformulations of existing ways of thinking which, in arts or science, characterise the creative mind.<sup>19</sup>

## 12.2 The creative mind

### 12.2.1 A special faculty?

The notion of 'creativity' has attracted a good deal of attention particularly for example in the work of Maslow (1967,1968); Rogers (1969,1970); Guilford (1967,1970); Getzels and Jackson (1962); Hudson (1966, 1970); De Bono (1977); Torrance (1964) and Vernon (1970).

Arts teachers have tended to colonise creativity claiming it as a special faculty which the arts alone can make grow.<sup>20</sup>

Like that of 'play', the notion of 'creativity' has drawn psychological theory unto itself. Perhaps, as David Aspin points out, it was inevitable that psychologists investigating creativity should think it right, in the first instance, to look for something that could be counted. Consequently:

'..... the more unusual uses for a brick, the more words ending in

-tion regardless of meaning,  
the more ways of describing  
a parcel one could produce,  
the more creative one was  
reckoned to be'.

A special premium was also put on the fanciful  
and fantastic so that

'..... anyone who came up with  
"skid-proof face cream" or  
"pictures of square cows" was  
well on the way to being con-  
sidered creative'.<sup>21</sup>

Less presumptuous research has, in recent years,  
placed 'creativity' like 'play' within more  
general enquiries, specifically in this case into  
the associative processes of the brain. We will  
return to this briefly below. I want first to  
relate this idea of 'creativity' to the main  
themes now before us.

#### 12.2.2 Successive approximations

Personal knowledge evolves dialectically- frame-  
works of ideas being used to interpret, and being  
tested against, the flow of experience. In Kelly's  
terms we 'try constructs on for size'.

'..... To make sense out of con-  
crete events we thread them  
through with constructs and to  
make sense of the constructs we  
must point them at events. Here  
we have a complete cycle of  
sense-making'.

(Kelly: 1963, p122)

As Kelly sees it, this process of construing and  
re-construing takes place as a series of

'successive approximations'. Although this aptly suggests the dialectical nature of the process, there is still something of a false ring to it. This lies in the impression it creates of a process which is smoothly continuous. This needs to be qualified in two ways.

### 12.2.3 Heuristic tension: jumping the gap

The term 'creative' clearly suggests the production of something new. This rarely takes place as a strictly logical performance, however. More often, as Guilford (1970) points out, it involves an 'intuitive leap', the sudden jumping of a logical gap in which the solution to the problem is illuminated in a new association of ideas - a sighting of unforeseen possibilities.

For Polanyi, these insights result from our holding a problem in consciousness, though not necessarily focally, and surveying it in a state of 'heuristic tension'. All of our existing conceptions have 'heuristic powers'; creative insights occur when they are combined in unexpected ways, or applied to phenomena with which they are not normally associated.

### 12.2.4 Bi-sociation: crossing the tracks

Creative thinking is a disruption of habitualised patterns of thought. Koestler (1975) usefully describes a key act of this as 'bi-sociation' - the construing of events normally associated with one 'matrix of thought' within the terms of another. In this way, we bring together experiences and ideas which are not normally connected, so that we think not on one plane - as in routine thinking - but on several planes at once; not logically, but bi-sociatively. Creative thought thus involves the



breaching of boundaries between different frames of reference and also, potentially, their re-alignment.<sup>22</sup>

#### 12.2.5 The creative mind: integrated and collection codes

The process of creative thought is not exceptional at all. It is the common way in which the active mind organises the meanings of problematic, disturbing or otherwise 'loose' experience. This is not unique to the arts but underlies any attempt to re-organise our perceptions or understandings: in history; in science; in philosophy; in political theory and in every day relationships. In all of these respects, 'creativity' is best seen, therefore, not as a separate faculty but as an attitude - a willingness to review the taken-for-granted.

Bernstein's (1971) distinction between integrated and collection codes provides an important metaphor here for the tendency, within one view of knowledge, to emphasise strong boundaries between ways of thinking; and, within another, to see how their adventurous dissolution can generate new forms of knowing. Creative thought, that is, is integrated thought.

John Passmore (1967) distinguishes between two main traditions of thought - the logico-deductive and the critico-creative - arguing that where the former has been highly valued, the latter has been down-graded. If Guilford and Polanyi are right, however, these are not antipathetic but complementary.

Studies of the psycho-physiology of the brain seem to support this view. Ornstein (1975) contends that the left and right hemispheres have markedly different modes of operation. The left is principally involved 'in analytic, logical thinking especially in verbal and mathematical functions'. Its mode of operation is primarily 'linear'. The right hemisphere is for, 'our orientation in space, artistic endeavour, crafts, body images, recognition of faces'; is more 'holistic and relational and more simultaneous in its mode of operation'. (Ornstein: 1975, p67ff)

This analysis provides striking parallels, of course with Langer's discursive and presentational forms; Hudson's convergers and divergers; De Bono's vertical and lateral thinkers; Koestler's bi-sociative acts and with John Passmore's two dominant traditions.

We can hazard two important inferences here. The first is that the emphasis in schools on collection codes of knowledge and on transmission and initiation modes of teaching has tended to value only one mode of knowing, and, in doing so, has actively discouraged the other. The second is that this has been to the detriment of both. We should not look, therefore, to exclude the discursive, the logico-deductive, in favour of 'creative' activity, but accept that both represent central functions of the general processes of intelligence and rationality. For, as Carl Sagan has asserted:

'..... There is no way to tell whether the patterns extracted by the right hemisphere are real or imagined without subjecting them to left-hemisphere scrutiny. On the other hand, mere

critical thinking without creative and intuitive insights, without the search for new patterns, is sterile and doomed. To solve complex problems in changing circumstances requires the activity of both cerebral hemispheres: the path to the future lies through the corpus callosum.'

(Sagan: 1978, p181)

### 13 The negotiation of meaning: the social dialectic

Many of the central claims for the arts versus the sciences, and specifically on behalf of the arts, can now be seen as problematic. Both appear to have subjective and, as we shall see, objective elements. Both involve some sort of personal engagement and both may have creative elements. Both are implicated in the processes of construing the world in its different aspects. This is not to say of course that there are not important differences between arts and sciences, as between other ways of knowing. It is to say that they are not readily distinguishable in these popularised terms of objectivity and subjectivity, logic and creation, utility and inutility.

I want now to begin to draw these various ideas together and to point them directly at drama teaching; and to do so, first, by considering a further, crucial element to the themes we have discussed. This is that knowledge is essentially inter-subjective - that it evolves through a process of social negotiation.

#### 13.1 The 'null' point

We see the world from a centre within ourselves. As Schutz puts it:

'..... I the human being, born into this world and naively

living in it, am the centre of this world in the historical situation of my actual "Now and Here".'

(Schutz: 1967, p133)

The world has meaning first of all for me and by me. I am, in these respects, "the null point" toward which the constitution of the world is oriented' (Ibid., p133).

### 13.2 The world of 'others'

In the natural attitude, however, I also recognise that this is a world of 'others' with whom I am associated in various degrees of dependence and intimacy. I recognise this in my acceptance of the various shared frameworks of meaning, such as language, through which I express and organise my own understandings; and through the 'historicity' of the world which I encounter in tradition and cultural mores. My social world is arranged into various fields of intimacy, from those in my immediate sphere of contacts - my consociates - to my contemporaries, predecessors and successors. Similarly, the world of objects and events is layered in levels of familiarity and accessibility; from the areas within my direct physical reach to those which are only accessible and familiar to 'others'.<sup>23</sup>

I also recognise that each of these 'others' experiences the world from different points of intention and that, subject to the same variations in accessibility and intimacy, I am an Other to them. I do assume a certain 'reciprocity of perspectives' between us, however, and it is on this basis that I posit and interpret meanings within the frameworks of ideas which I use. It is upon these reciprocal acts of positing and interpreting meaning:

'..... that my social world of mundane intersubjectivity is built: it is also the social world of Others and all other social and cultural phenomena are founded upon it.'

(Schutz: 1967, p135)

### 13.3 Social negotiation

The capacity for symbolisation gives me access to the experiences of others, past and future, in which I did not directly take part. A good deal of our experience is of this indirect sort, consisting in the exchange of experiences and of ideas about them. The fabric of daily life is woven from such exchanges: conjecture, affirmation, denial, transaction and anecdote. Consequently, as James Britton puts it:

'..... We each build our own representation of the world, but we greatly affect each other's representation so that much of what we build is in common'.

(Britton: 1972, p19)

Our representations are determined in some degree by the categories built into the native language; but these evolve as we have noted through processes of negotiation which are both intra- and inter-personal.

The influence of consociates, of those with whom I have direct social contact, is particularly important here, and especially of those with whom I have a long standing, or habitual contact.

### 13.4 The social distribution of knowledge

The inter-personal nature of knowledge is confirmed by its social distribution. There are areas in which, as individuals, we can claim to be 'informed' or even

'expert'. For each of these, however, there are many others in which we are laymen or plainly ignorant.

Public knowledge is an inter-locking mosaic of ideas and theory, only small sections of which are known intimately to any of us.<sup>24</sup> In this respect we depend for much of our own knowledge on the knowledge of others.<sup>25</sup>

#### 14 In extremes

The rational and natural paradigms point to extreme interpretations of the various themes I have presented here - to objectivism on the one hand and to subjectivism on the other. Both hold signal dangers for the effective use of the arts, including drama, in schools.

##### 14.1 Objectivism

All knowledge, even 'objective' knowledge, has to be realised in an act of personal understanding. Objectivism is the tendency to see knowledge not as being realised, but as reified: as a thing with an ontological status of its own. The essential feature of a thing, as opposed to a person, is that a thing, 'has no subjectivity of its own and hence can have no reciprocal intentions' (Laing: 1965, p26). In being conceived of as an object, knowledge is thus seen, not as dialectical, but as static, growing only through accumulation, much like a stagnant pool.

This process of reification is potential for all man-made meanings, notably, for our purposes, in the associated areas of social institutions and personal roles. These too, as we have seen, only exist in being realised and as a function of inter-personal meanings. Kelly argues that the physical world owes no allegiance to any particular set of constructs. Despite

the successive reformulations of scientific theory the physical universe just carries on being itself. Our making sense of it is what changes. But this is simply not true of the social world. We construct that in a much more literal way, through the institutions we create and the roles through which we enact them. Institutions are the infra-structures of social life, the realisations of ideology. The process of reification, however, denies the ideological nature of personal knowledge and of personal roles and disguises the subjective component of both.

The danger in objectivism in schools, of education solely as transmission, is in denying the evolutionary nature of knowledge and the personal involvement of the individual in the processes of social change.

As Polanyi put it:

'.....Objectivism seeks to relieve us from all responsibility for holding our own beliefs'.

(Polanyi: 1969, p323)

#### 14.2 Subjectivism

If we see the world from a centre within ourselves we also see it as a world of Others. This sense of relatedness is essential to that of personal identity. In Laing's terms:

'..... Each and every man is at the same time separate from his fellows and related to them ..... personal relatedness can exist only between beings who are separate but who are not isolates'.

(Laing: 1965, p25)

Subjectivism is the tendency to see personal consciousness, ideas, beliefs and values as separate and distinct from the world of Others and the expression of these as a sufficient means for individuality to develop. The danger in this for schools, of education as education, is in detaching the individual from the cultural setting and ignoring the influence of, and the need for, communion and negotiation with the ideas and values of others.

Laing describes as schizoid a person who experiences a rent in his relation with the world and a rent in his relations with himself. He is thus unable to experience himself 'together with' the world but rather in despairing isolation. If this exaggerates the dangers of subjectivism, the underlying principle is still apposite: that individuality, like the personal acts of meanings from which it derives, and on which it is based, is not one-dimensional. On the contrary:

'..... if a man is not two-dimensional, having a two-dimensional identity established by a conjunction of identity-for-others and identity-for-oneself, if he does not exist objectively as well as subjectively, but only has subjective identity, an identity-for-oneself, he cannot be real'.

(Laing: 1965, p95)

## 15 The dramatic mode

In the debate about drama in schools, the dichotomies of arts and science, of reason and emotion, objectivity and subjectivity, gravely misrepresent the constitutive processes of knowing in both arts and science and their respective places in education.



The academic curriculum is not at fault for trying to promote objectivity, but for reifying this and seeing it as the only legitimate approach to knowledge. The arts curriculum is not at fault for attempting to promote creativity, but for seeing this as an end in itself.

The term 'the negotiation of meaning' denotes the basic dynamic by which, on the foregoing account, our knowledge of ourselves and of the world evolves in all forms of understanding. In turning back now to consider drama more particularly, therefore, I want to apply these general themes to the specific questions raised in Chapter Two.

I will be arguing in general that, although the aims of drama teachers associate them with individualistic models of education, their practice is essentially social. Drama is a prime example of the ways in which these processes of negotiation - of construing and re-construing - can be used in the classroom and it is, in these respects, an important area of educational innovation. The implications of this are far-reaching not only for the practice of drama but for the evaluative processes by which the work is legitimated; and for its place in the school curriculum as a whole.

## 16 Summary

In this chapter I have given an account of dialectical epistemologies in which the activity of personal consciousness is key. I have discussed the concept of symbol as a function not a quality of an item and have linked this to the phenomenological concept of intentionality. I distinguished on this basis between the perceptual field and the processes of apperception relating these to the notions of personal constructs and frameworks of meaning. These were seen to underlie the natural attitude to daily life which was identified as the dominant mode of consciousness. Our movement through different provinces of meaning was then described

in terms of changes in the tensions of consciousness together with our reliance on different forms of symbolism to represent these various experiences. The hard distinction between the subject and object worlds and between reason and emotion was discounted in favour of a view of knowledge which comprises both. Creativity was seen to refer, not to a separate faculty, but to an attitude of mind and specifically to the intuitive bi-sociation of ideas from different frames of reference.

On this basis, I described the understanding and interpretation of experience as both an intra-personal and inter-personal process. I have introduced the phrase 'the negotiation of meaning' to denote the dialectical nature of these processes and have related these themes to drama in schools as an example of their current and potential applications.

In the next chapter I want to apply these to an account of the various functions of drama in education.

CHAPTER SIXTHE FUNCTIONS OF DRAMA AND THEATRE1 Reasons for the chapter

- (i) To consider the implications of the symbolic and social aspects of drama and theatre for an understanding of their functions in schools.
- (ii) To propose a model.

2 Drama, theatre and social reality

Drama and theatre are not the same thing. There are nevertheless important relationships between them arising out of the use of symbolic roles and the significant ways for education in which their social functions overlap. Of particular importance here are the ways in which both drama and theatre are distinguishable from, and therefore related to, the social reality of the natural attitude.

In both drama and theatre we envisage other realities and temporarily dwell in them as real. In doing so we give credence to events which we know are not literally taking place at all. In watching a play we might see a group of people walking round a small area, speaking at each other from memory and too loudly, given the distance between them. That is, literally, what is going on. Alternatively, we might believe that the Prince of Denmark is really before us live on stage; just as some children might think, at their first pantomime, that they have seen Dick Whittington in the flesh.

In general, however, we look through the literal actions seeing them as both representations and interpretations of actual or fictitious events.

This is true of both drama and theatre. The differences between them lie in the structure of the encounters and in corresponding differences in our senses of convention and intention.

### 3 The conventions and theatre

#### 3.1 The actor and the role: dramatic conventions

In theatre there is a mutually acknowledged demarcation between audience and actors. The clarity of this line is unaffected by whether or not the audience are physically involved by being brought on to the stage, or by being addressed directly, as in some so-called 'participatory theatre'. For this demarcation is not to do with the spatial structure of the event, but with the sense of convention by which the actor is distinguishable from the role.

The actor playing Hamlet, for example, does not express his own grief, and we know this. But neither does he express Hamlet's grief. Hamlet expresses his own grief: the actor represents this act of expression. In doing so, he may express something of his own feelings too. His involvement with the role will undoubtedly call on a profound empathy with Hamlet and require him to draw on his own experiences. But we know that it is Hamlet who is broken at the end of the play and not the actor who brought him to life. If we are moved by the actor's grief, we are out of touch with the role.

We can distinguish here between two sets of conventions, which guide our responses in drama and theatre: the dramatic conventions, by which the drama is distinguished from the real world in the first place, and the existential conventions obtaining within the world the drama presents.

Nicholas Wright (1980) has described the playwright's need to limit the meaning of the play through controlling:

- (a) the time;
- (b) the space;
- (c) the world-view within which the drama is set.

His account of these can be usefully elaborated here within the terms we have now established.

### 3.2 Real time and virtual time

The distinction between real and symbolic roles has a counterpart in the dual time sense of a drama, which I will distinguish as real and virtual time. A play takes place, on one level, in real time, lasting for say two hours; but it also exists in the virtual time of the drama itself, events being collapsed or extended through real time to indicate relationships and associations. This use of virtual time has an important function in pointing the intended meanings of the play. As a result, the deployment of real time, as Wright notes, is a constant pre-occupation during rehearsal of a play. There is, on the one hand, the endless conjectures about the time-span of the audience's interest and their changing expectations about the appropriate length of a play.<sup>1</sup> This also bears on the rhythm of the drama - a central element, as we shall see in Chapter Seven, of dramatic form.

William Gaskill (1980) speaks in this respect of a play's being structured around 'moments of realisation' when the meanings of the action become most vivid. The attention to time may therefore become obsessive so that:

'..... Passages of wit and charm, excellent in themselves are ruthlessly scrapped where they close in on the pace of the narrative. The tempo is here stretched, there (more usually) accelerated in order for the passage of time to be disguised'.

(Wright: 1980, p94)

The use of real time is constantly guarded, so as to create and sustain the illusion and meanings of the virtual time of the play itself.

### 3.3 The meaning of the stage

The function of the stage or playing area is not only to make the events of the play visible, but also to make them comprehensible to the audience, by ensuring that they are clearly seen in relation to each other and to their environment.<sup>2</sup> The stage isolates and focusses attention upon a section of the perceptual field, so that:

'..... a contract between it and the spectator is at once established. Within it for the time being there is meaning; outside it, for the time being, not'.

(Wright: 1980, p95)

### 3.4 The life of the play: existential conventions

A play posits a particular world-view. If the world of the drama is distinguishable from the real world by dramatic conventions, it is characterised internally by the existential conventions of the world it presents. It is in relation to these that the thoughts and actions of those who are shown to live in it are given meaning; and it is a feature of our experiencing the drama as real that we also accept these conventions as real - for the time being. In Middleton and Rowley's The

Changeling, for example, the only alternative Beatrice Joanna sees to marrying her unwelcome suitor is to murder him. As Wright notes, young women today might see other possibilities. Nevertheless, these possibilities have no place in a production of the play. It is for the director:

'..... to present a social world where no other choice is open to her, and it's the job of the actress to present a woman who can't imagine one'.

(Op Cit., p96)

A major value of dramatising is to show the relations between such other worlds and our own. Ironically, these can easily be blurred in enthusiastic attempts to over-simplify their 'relevance'; for example, by the use in productions of classic plays of modern dress or by up-dating the language.<sup>4</sup> This is not to deny the need for interpretation. As I will shortly argue, this is an inescapable feature of all arts processes. It is to say, however, that for its relations to other realities to be made clear, stringent efforts must be made to understand and maintain the integrity of the particular world-view of the play. Blur the outline, as Wright puts it, and the figure becomes incomprehensible.

The different structures of drama and theatre as encounters involve differences in the setting and control of these two sets of conventions. We will consider this in a moment. There is a further area of distinction, however, between drama and especially formal theatrical performances; in the relationships between the real and the symbolic roles.

#### 4 Real and symbolic roles: a dialectic of ambiguity

In all instances of dramatic activity there are two levels of social interaction:

- (a) of real social roles;
- (b) of symbolic roles.

The abiding complexities of drama in the classroom are largely enmeshed in the ways in which these blend together.

In theatre, the division between actors and audience means that the differences between these two levels of interaction is also relatively clear - the symbolic interactions being centred on the playing area. Although there is a sense in which the audience also has to project into the roles of the drama, which we will turn to later, there is, as a rule, only a limited interaction between the actors as themselves and the audience, due to the various conventions by which the drama is maintained.<sup>5</sup>

It is precisely because of these demarcations that the world of the drama can be seen in relation to the real social world. Gurvitz (1973) describes theatre as a sublimation of social realities, whether it idealises them, parodies them or calls for them to be transcended. Thus, it is simultaneously an escape from, and an embodiment of, the real world. From this point of view:

'..... it contains a paradoxical element, or rather a theatrical dialectic which is supremely a dialectic of ambiguity'.

(Gurvitz: 1973, p76)

In this respect all theatrical performances are inherently political; that is, they both present a view of society and express an attitude towards it, whether one of assent or dissent, approval or criticism. The extent to which the audience is able to stand back from the drama is a factor in determining their recognition of the play as political and their judgements on the ideas, beliefs and values which, implicitly and explicitly, it presents.



In the drama lesson, this ambiguity is of paramount importance. For here the lines between the real and depicted world may be much more fluid, as the whole group move in and out of real and symbolic roles in creating the drama. This, too, involves the expression of attitudes and beliefs about the social world, and is equally political. The political character of the work derives partly from the extent to which the group are enabled by teachers to form judgements about the attitudes which they are encouraged to express. We can suggest here, however, and will develop the point shortly, that the mere expression of attitudes in drama, as elsewhere, is not in itself necessarily educational at all. Indeed it may, in a particular sense, be anti-educational.

## 5 Controlling the form

In the prepared performance, the audience has relatively little control over either the dramatic or the existential conventions which define the drama. These are determined by the group whose performance it is, in anticipation of it. In the drama lesson, the dramatic conventions are more fluid as the group moves in and out of the drama as the work proceeds. The drama group may participate directly, for example, in devising the existential conventions of the drama itself - the kind of world they will create. These differences in control point to the experiences of drama and theatre having distinguishable, though related, educational functions. The fact that they are related, and, indeed, lap into each other, is inherent in the notion we have been using of drama as a process. What, then, is the significance of this term and how are these functions to be described?

## 6 The process of dramatising

### 6.1 A process in time

Drama only exists as it happens - as a pattern of events. The notion of process is applicable to all arts

activities. The sculptor, the painter, the poet are all involved in processes of creative work; changing and adding to the work as it evolves. But at the end of this process there is an object - a sculpture, a painting, a poem - which exists independently of the artist.<sup>6</sup> We do not need to have him/her present to paint or write it each time we want to see it.

Drama has no such independent existence. It exists only as a sequence of personal actions using noise and silence, darkness and light, movement and stillness. The actions unfold and dissolve through time and when they are done there is no object left to see. If we want to look at it again, the actors must do it again. Drama, like music and dance, is evanescent. There may be a script, of course. But this is strictly the encodement of the drama: the drama itself exists only as a process in time.

## 6.2 The concept of process

The concept of process implies much more than a simple sequence of events. These may after all be unconnected, like the flashing of random slide images on a screen. To describe something as a process is to point to some reciprocal relationship between the various elements, which gives them cohesion and unity - like the organic imagery of a film. It indicates that each aspect or phase of what is happening is, in some sense, in every other: that 'the future event controls a present activity which uses its past as a means and condition for attaining a later phase in the process' (Miller: 1973, p29).

The form of the structured play is controlled by the playwright, director and actors according to their sense of tension, convention and rhythm. These guide the pace and pressure of the drama as it unfurls in

performance. Gavin Bolton (1980a) has clearly described how the same sense of form and structure may provide the organising principle for the improvised work of the classroom. We will return to these formal elements in the next chapter. But in addition to these, there is a range of functions running through the process of dramatising as a whole, which vary for the participants according to the capacity in which they are involved.

In describing them here, they need to be isolated. Nevertheless, the implication of describing drama as a process is that each of these functions, and the roles to which they attach, is in some sense in every other one. The differences are of emphasis.

## 7 Roles and functions in dramatising

If we think of the process of dramatising as a whole, we can see that we may be involved in three general roles - in the sense of capacity. We may be the originator of the drama, generating the underlying ideas and expressive forms; we may act a drama which has already been devised, our own or someone else's; we may be involved as spectators to a drama. We may participate in drama, that is, as Initiator, Animator or as Audience.

Each of these general roles involves different sorts of activities and has correspondingly different functions. Each of them also, to some extent, pre-supposes the others. The pattern of relationships between them extends across the processes of drama and theatre.

## 8 The role of initiator

### 8.1 Acting-out

We may be responsible for originating a drama, devising it around our own ideas and feelings, making decisions

over content and form - the roles and situations through which we explore and express them. There need be no concern at all here with communicating to a separate audience. The work is not a rehearsal but an enquiry.

Most classroom drama intends to put children in the role of initiator. The four lessons described in Appendix 2 provide examples of this, although they varied considerably in other ways. In lesson one, Essence Machine, the bulk of the time was given over to the children's experimenting with the idea of essences and with ways of making clear statements about them. As the lesson went on, the emphasis began to shift, in preparation for a change of role and function - that of showing the work to the rest of the class. In Crossroads, the concern throughout was with the group's own explorations of 'choice' with no imposition by the teacher of form and structures, and no pressure to show. Similarly, in Factory, the emphasis was on the experience of the drama itself; although here, the teacher, in role (see Chapter Eight), took considerable control over form and structure. In no case, however, was there an intention to create a drama for formal performance beyond the lesson. The drama in each case was 'disposable'.

## 8.2 Disposable drama

The teachers in these lessons were using the children's innate capacity for dramatising to explore particular ideas. The drama was disposable in that there was no intention to refine and work on the piece repeatedly in all of its formal aspects, as might be done by a group for an eventual performance.

In most cases in everyday life our dramatising is similarly disposable. Our use of role is spontaneous, informal and has an immediate purpose (See Chapter

Four:4 ). The make-believe world we create for that moment may not be used again. The dramatist also creates a world of make-believe, but takes great care in this case to control and to refine its form and structure; for these are crucial to the precision with which the meanings of the play are conveyed. The drama here is not disposable.

The drama of the classroom lies somewhere between these two extremes; the form acting as the bearer of meanings but being constantly open to review and modification as new ideas or lines of enquiry appear. As the function of the activity changes, so the drama becomes more or less important in itself; more or less disposable.

The typical functions of the activities of the initiator role are heuristic; that is, they pertain to processes of discovery within the group. In this, they are both explorative and expressive.

## 9 Heuristic functions (1): exploration

### 9.1 Transmission?

Dorothy Heathcote has written of her conviction that 'every child I meet understands deep, basic matters worthy of exploration'; but adds that, 'they may as yet have no language for them' (Heathcote: 1980b, p8). Elsewhere (1979), she has spoken of drama as lying 'outside the information explosion of modern life'. We will need to qualify these comments later (see especially Chapter Eight: 4.8). They do point, however, to a key feature of arts activities.

The precept of rationalist models of education is that teaching principally consists in the transmission of, and initiation of children into, public forms of knowledge. Formal education, on any account, is certainly

the most sustained and systematic process by which children are brought into contact with the public stock of knowledge. A key principle underlying the dialectical epistemologies discussed in the last chapter, however, is that each individual, by virtue of his/her membership of varying cultural groups inside and outside formal education, lives constantly under 'a steady rain of assumptions' (Marshak: 1976, p3). These characterise and help to shape the habitual patterns of thought by which we give meaning to the events of everyday experience. Consequently, whatever he/she may take out of it, each child brings into the classroom an existing stock of attitudes and pre-conceptions, which Gavin Bolton (1980a) has described as their conceptual 'luggage'. The notion of personal knowledge thus has two immediate implications for the idea of exploration in drama.

The first is that, without some grasp of what a child's existing conceptual luggage is, the teacher is in a poor position to encourage new forms of understanding. But the second, of some significance here, is that much of what we know already is simply taken-for-granted, and appears to us not as distinct ideology but as the canons of 'common sense'. In other words, we do much that we do in relation to knowledge that we do not know that we know.

In both these respects, drama in practice is not so much - as in a good deal of information-based teaching - an investigation and explanation of the unknown, as an exploration of the known but unconsidered.<sup>7</sup>

## 9.2 Exploring the known: 'I never knew I knew that'

At one level, dramatic activity can be used as a way of drawing from the group their existing attitudes to given ideas or situations. The first three lessons each

illustrated this, as the teachers looked for the groups' responses to given themes with little input of novel information. The point was to help the children to clarify what they already knew and thought.

But there is a more profound potential here. Polanyi (1969) asserts that objectivism seeks to relieve us from all responsibilities for holding our own beliefs. The exploratory processes of the arts provide ways of promoting such responsibilities by investigating what these beliefs and attitudes actually are. The experience of 'I never knew I knew that' to which Mel Marshak (1976) refers is both an affirmation of the personal nature of knowledge and a basis for new forms of understanding to emerge. All existing conceptions, as Polanyi notes, have heuristic powers. A first step in exploiting these is to make the familiar problematic.

### 9.3 The known and the unknown

Dramatic activity may be exploratory in two ways. First, there is a direct exchange of views and opinions at the real level. In working together the children are able to discover each other's actual views on the issues or situations in hand. Second, working in role provides opportunities for them to speculate on the views and attitudes of those whose actions they represent in the drama, or about their own in conjectural situations.

So in Crossroads, for example, the group was asked at one point to imagine a meeting twenty five years on, and to consider how their present attitudes might have changed. In Factory, on the other hand, both the situation and, potentially, the individual roles within it were hypothetical. In all such projections, however, the group must draw on what it knows already. Heathcote (1980b) writes in this connection of having to look in drama for the 'universal in the particular'; that is, for

the common elements in human experience. There are difficulties with this<sup>8</sup>, but the methodological point is crucial; that in projecting into hypothetical situations, through space and time, the teacher must encourage children to look for relations with their own circumstances that is, also to make the problematic familiar.

#### 9.4 An enquiry not a rehearsal

Classroom drama is not a rehearsal but an enquiry. This is true in two respects. First, the drama is not necessarily being prepared for an eventual performance but has an immediate value in exploring the issues at hand. Second, neither is it in any strict sense a rehearsal for real life.

Hodgson and Richards (1966) are among those who claim that drama is precisely this. The point of drama, they say, is 'to train the emotions' under 'experimental and controlled conditions'.

'..... We are all expected to love and be loved, but there is never any opportunity of preparing ourselves to find out about love until we are in the actual situation .... we must also know what it is to hate (to) get angry ..... to be sensitive. These can be explored in a controlled situation which will help us to understand how this neglected aspect of our being works in relation to the whole person'.

(Ibid., p23-24)

This is questionable on two accounts. First, there is no guarantee that what is learnt under 'experimental conditions' transfers directly to other circumstances at all - especially where the real conditions have not been exactly simulated. Second, the assumption that



there is such a transference rests on the belief that the emotion experienced in the drama is the same as that felt in the natural attitude of daily life.

Clearly the participants may have an emotional involvement during the events of the drama. But it is equally clear that this occurs within a context of make-believe, where events are recognised as hypothetical. There is no reason to expect that the quality of feeling here will be the same as in the natural attitude, where the intentional objects of emotion are taken to be real.

It may be that, from time to time, individuals do have intense emotional experiences in drama, and these may help to illuminate other emotional states. But it is, I think, unjustified to argue on this basis that dramatising as a whole should therefore be seen as some kind of rehearsal.

If dramatic activity is related to real life, and I have argued throughout that it is, and if it does have some consequent bearing on our emotions, it is in a more subtle way than this. We will go further into this question of drama and the education of the emotions in Chapter Eight.

Drama activities are among the ways in which children can explore both their common and different perceptions of issues and situations at the real level and speculate on the hypothetical. It is in relation to these explorations that the expressive functions of drama become significant.

## 10 Heuristic functions (2): expression

### 10.1 Eduction?

The idea of expression has a prominent place in drama teaching, especially within naturalist approaches.

These emphasise 'self-expression' as a major technique for drawing out individuality. I want here to qualify such assumptions.

## 10.2 The concept of expression

### 10.2.1 Self-expression?

In Chapter Two (7.6) I quoted a report on the primary school curriculum which urged that 'the freest type of self-discipline is necessary if the children's powers of self-expression are to be encouraged'. Directions from the teacher should be kept to a minimum so that drama 'always provides a creative experience and opportunity for the ..... exercise of self-expression'.

There are two assumptions underlying this which we must now consider. First, that expression in the arts is of 'the self' and second, that expressive activity requires freedom from restrictions.

### 10.2.2 Which self?

We have noted that different individuals enact different roles in the same social settings and that the same individual enacts different roles in different social settings. This is partly because of variations in social expectations of individuals in their different duties and responsibilities. But it is also due to the different subjective moods, dispositions and outlooks which affect us as individuals. Personal consciousness is not only bedouin between provinces of meaning but also between qualities of feeling and perception. None of us consists of a single, constant sense of 'self' which we can routinely express when called upon. We comprise complex self-images and feelings which blend and

separate according to changes in our objective and subjective circumstances. To talk of self-expression massively over-generalises the issue from the first. Moreover, such a generalisation can be used to sanction activities which, I have suggested, are at best un-educational and at worst positively anti-educational. What are the meanings of expression to be used here?

### 10.2.3 Expressive behaviour and expressive action

The term 'expression' is put to a variety of daily uses. It is not necessary to survey all of its various meanings here.<sup>9</sup> I do want to clarify the senses in which it may be applied to the arts, however, and to distinguish between expressive behaviour and expressive action.

Not all behaviour is expressive. My actions in driving a car, for example, need not be expressive. They may not even be conscious. But if I am driving hard after an argument, it is likely that my driving is expressive. The difference is that here I am acting in accordance with a particular disposition or subjective state; in this case anger or frustration. My driving is an externalisation, an expression, of it.

Some of my expressions are involuntary. Others are quite deliberate. If I cry out in grief or surprise, my crying is an involuntary reaction. But if I draw a picture or make a gift, I may also be expressing something, but this time in a quite deliberate way.

Schutz (1972) distinguishes in these respects between automatic involuntary activity -

'behaviour' - and that which is voluntary and deliberate which he calls 'action'. We can further distinguish on this basis between expressive behaviour and expressive action and suggest at once that in the arts we are principally concerned with the latter. Why is this?

#### 10.2.4 Logical and psychological expressions: a function not a quality

As with symbolism, there is no special class of phenomena which are inherently expressive. Expression is not a quality of a movement or of an action but a function it serves. An expression has to be an expression to someone. In Tormey's terms, to call something an expression is to imply 'that some possible inferential pattern is warranted' (Tormey: 1971, p51).

There is a logical and syntactical difference between describing someone as having a sad expression and saying of someone that they wore an expression of sadness. To speak of the latter indicates an inference about the person's disposition or 'intentional state'. A face may bear a cruel expression, but, having noted this, no further inference is necessarily justified about the individual's inclination to cruelty. To speak of 'an expression of cruelty', however, is to license such implications.

Tormey concludes, therefore, that:

'..... If A's behaviour B is an expression of X, then there is a warrantable inference from B to an intentional state S, such that it would be true to say that A has

(or is in a state) S; and where S and X are identical'.

(Ibid., p43)

This has important implications, as we shall see, for the related notion of 'representation', particularly as it applies to 'acting'. But there are several other points here, which are of more immediate significance.

An expression may be wholly psychological in character. A leap in horror or a dance of joy are expressions of intentional states actually obtaining in someone and may observe no logical rules of expression. Such expressions may come in due course, however, to form the pattern for habitual actions which are used to demonstrate rather than to relieve such feelings - as in the ritual dance. As such behaviour gives way to actions performed without involuntary compulsion, it becomes expressive in the logical sense. That is:

'..... it is no longer a sign of the emotion it conveys but a symbol of it: instead of completing the natural history of a feeling, it denotes the feeling and may merely bring it to mind'.

(Langer: 1951, p134)

The development of gestures and signs to denote intentional states focusses not so much on the relief of them as on the expression of the essential form. Such expressions are symbolic rather than symptomatic.

### 10.2.5 The contents of expression: intentional objects

An expression is always of and about something. If, for example, we see someone crying, we may wonder what the crying is expressive of - hunger, grief, joy? - and also what the expression is about - why are they crying? As Tormey points out, the answer to the first question is not always an answer to the second. The first is asking for a description of the intentional state, and the second for a description of the intentional object of the state. We can ask both questions meaningfully of any instance of expressive behaviour or action.

In the last chapter (Section 4) I noted the need to qualify Witkin's association of sensation and feelings. This is because physical sensations are not in themselves intentional - although they may give rise to intentional states - and cannot be expressed directly. Our direct reactions to physical sensations relate rather as cause and effect, for which 'expression' is, at best, a metaphorical description. Genuine expressions relate only to the intentional contents of consciousness: that is, to attitudes, emotions, feelings, beliefs, ideas and moods.

### 10.2.6 Reaction and response

There are two further points. First, expressive behaviour is not just evidence of an intentional state but a constituent part of it. Jealous behaviour, for example, is part of the complex state of jealousy. As Tormey notes, this is comparable to the grammatical category of *synechdoche*. A mast is not just evidence of a ship's approach, as sign to significandum or effect to cause, it is part of the ship itself.<sup>10</sup>

Second, expressive action differs from expressive behaviour in that it is directed in various ways as a response towards intentional objects, where expressive behaviour typically occurs as a reaction to them. 'Response' carries the suggestion of control and purpose, in contrast to the impulsive, spontaneous nature of 'reaction'.

We have here five themes already inherent in our general analysis:

- (1) the complexity of the concept of 'self';
- (2) the distinction between action and behaviour ;
- (3) the logical and psychological elements of expression ;
- (4) the intentional character of expressive activity ;
- (5) the responsive nature of expressive action.

What are the implications of these for 'expression' in drama?

### 10.3 Self-expression and self-indulgence: qualities of response

If teachers are concerned with individuality, they must enable children to recognise their own beliefs and attitudes and to look critically at them. They must also be concerned with promoting changes in understanding in the light of these recognitions. I have argued that the arts are primarily ways of knowing. Their potential in education is as ways for children to investigate their own ideas, feelings, beliefs and attitudes towards the social world of which they are part, through purposeful and controlled expressive action. Provoking reactions to stimuli, as in the many

games and exercises which are used in drama (see lesson four: Preparations) is a possible starting point for this. But it is no more than a starting point.

Genuine expressions are focussed on our intentional involvement with specific objects. Tormey uses the term Quale to refer to such intentional states. Its Latin derivation refers to 'types' and 'kinds' of experience; and it is with the qualities of experiences that we are concerned in the expressive arts; a point we will develop in the chapters which follow.

The exact failing of some so-called expressive activity in schools is that, in both senses of the word, it has no 'object'. Children are often asked not to express feelings in a controlled and purposeful way but rather to give vent to them. Expressive activity, in other words, tends towards the psychological rather than the logical sort. Laing has pointed to the dangers of over-subjectivity (See Chapter Five: 14.2 ). The discharge of feelings with no attempt to understand their causes or qualities may simply amount to children demonstrating the values they have inherited and the emotions they have been taught to feel.

This may leave the child unchanged. It may also promote a self-centredness which turns him/her away from a social identity with the world of others. It is in this sense that such reactive expressions are 'anti-educational'. For it is in this all-important relationship between the self and Others that expression in education has its roots and its value.

#### 10.4 Objectivation: the expressive act

Objectivation is the process by which the contents of consciousness are made available to others in perceptible



forms. This is the basis of the inter-subjective character of knowledge; for it is through such objectivations that the contents of personal consciousness become part of the objective world of oneself and of others. They are thereby made available to the interpretations and responses of others as elements of a common world. However, the objectivations of others only become meaningful for us by a corresponding process of subjectivation in which we invest them with meaning as intentional objects of our own. The process of producing objects of meaning and of giving meaning to the products of others is thus essentially dialectical.<sup>11</sup>

The expressive act - the outcome or product of expressive action - facilitates the process of communication by which the individual escapes the boundaries of pure subjectivity. Expressive action participates not only in the revelation and critique of personal knowledge but also in the related and reciprocal process by which knowledge becomes inter-personal. It is here that the further functions of drama in education begin to come into focus.

#### 11 The role of animator

The sculptor, the painter, the poet, create objects which come to exist independently of them. Their expressive actions result in objects which are available to others without further interventions. In the performing arts, however, there is an intermediary between the original expressive act and its audience- the animator.<sup>12</sup> An animator is someone who brings something to life and this is precisely the role, in performance, of the musician, the singer, the dancer and the actor. The prime role of the actor is to realise a drama for others - to make it be.

The typical functions of these activities are communicative.<sup>13</sup> In this they are both expressive and interpretative.

All of the foregoing conditions of expression apply to this new role. The distinctions to be made are to do with the relationship between expression and representation in drama and theatre.

## 12 Communicative functions (1): expression

### 12.1 Imitation and deceit

In a significant passage, Tormey associates acting and pretending with imitating and feigning. These, he argues, must be clearly distinguished from expressing. The surface of expressive activity is, he says, easily detached and reproduced. Much of our time is taken up in such pursuits both in play and in earnest. But nothing will be gained, he goes on, by assimilating such activities and by regarding them as variant forms of expression.

'..... Rather their relation to expression is that of a class of activities which parasitically exploit the observable surface of expressive behaviour for purposes which range from deceit to diversion'.

(Tormey: 1971, p59)

This conflation of acting and feigning, imitation and deceit seriously misconstrues the idea of representation and its relations to expression.

Imitation, as Rosen (1980) notes, has had a bad press in general; as in Cassirer's (1953) contention that in imitation:

'..... the I remains a prisoner of outward impression and its properties; the more accurately it repeats this impression, excluding all spontaneity of its own, the more fully the aim of imitation has been realised'.

(Quoted in Rosen: 1980, p152)

We noted earlier (Chapter Four : 9.3) that role-play can be used as an intentional deceit; that is, in affectation. Moreover, in some special instances, such as impersonation, the constraints to which Cassirer refers, may certainly apply. But to generalise from such special cases can produce damaging distortions of other special instances, and particularly here of the relations between expression and representation in both acting and acting-out. Much depends, once again, on the intended function of the activity.

## 12.2 Expression in drama and theatre

The actor playing Hamlet is neither expressing his own nor Hamlet's grief. He is representing an act of expression. (See above 3.1). He may, in the course of this, express something of his own feelings; but he cannot, as Tormey argues, simultaneously express and represent his own expression. Representation requires a logical space between itself and the original act. As a result, since acting is to represent, if an actor were only expressing his own feelings, he could not also be acting. For:

'..... Imitation is inflexibly relational and conflation of the imitated and imitating action would dissolve the relation'.

(Tormey: 1971, p53)

We have said enough to argue that representation is a broader concept than direct imitation or acting; that it is a pervasive feature of our conscious life. The relations between expression and representation are thus more complicated than this special case of acting would instantly suggest.

The child in the drama lesson - as in Crossroads, for example - may be playing a role which is a projection of himself/herself. It is true that he/she cannot simultaneously express and represent an expression in the terms Tormey lays out. But these refer properly to an actor playing a pre-devised role and thus to a more limited notion of re-presentation. In the drama lesson the child is not necessarily trying to sustain two logically independent types of action. Just as in synechdoche, one activity may be related to another as part of the same complex state, so in the drama lesson the child's representation of a role may, existentially, be part of his/her expressive action. That is, he/she may be expressing an intentional state through representing it.

Where the actor's expressive action is a means of representation, therefore, it is often the case, for the child in the lesson, that the representation of a role is a means of expressive action.

Clearly Tormey's point about the detachment of the surface of expressive behaviour should be taken as a cautionary note. There is a possibility, where acting-out is unmotivated or objectless, that children will simply wear the mask of expressive action and reproduce surface impressions. Representation is not necessarily expressive. It seems impetuous to suggest that it can never be so.

There are two further points here. The first is that, in the drama lesson, children may be asked to repeat a sequence of activity for other members of the class. This happened in the final stages of Essence Machine. This involves a change of role, from initiator to animator, and a corresponding change of function. These activities of showing have been criticised in the past because they seem to inhibit self-expression. We can now conclude that self-expression is not the point of them but the related and equally important educational experience of effective communication with others.

Second, where expressive action succeeds symptomatic reaction, we are not involved in direct emotional release. In playing a role I am not expressing grief. I am expressing an attitude to, or an understanding of grief and this will be inherent in the form of my representation. This applies equally to the child in the classroom and the actor on the stage. There is, in other words, in all acts of representation, an indissoluble element of interpretation.

### 13 Communicative functions (2): Interpretation

#### 13.1 Objections to acting

The emphasis on self-expression in drama has led to two forms of dramatic activity being discouraged: first, the showing of prepared work to others, either informally in the classroom or in a full performance; and second, the use of texts, on the grounds that children should be encouraged to express their own ideas. The following sums up the key objections:

'...!... Theatre is an art for showing. In order for example to let the audience hear and see, the actors' speech must be louder and

the movements larger than in real life. To make (this) seem natural, techniques have to be learnt - techniques so difficult that comparatively few amateur actors master them. The theatre thus imposes severe limitations on self-expression'.

(Pemberton-Billing and Clegg: 1965, p18)

As a result, the child actor:

'..... becomes an automaton in the hands of the producer, giving little of his real self to the part and learning little about the real life which, it is hoped, lies behind the script'.

(Ibid., p18)

Is any of this necessarily true?

### 13.2 Responding to text

Working on a text can be just as creative as working without one. An important implication of the notion of subjectivation is that we all tend to re-write the texts that we read. Where twenty people are reading a play there are potentially twenty plays being read. Responding to a text requires creative interpretation. A written play suggests a performance; it does not determine it. Grotowski has observed that:

'..... All great texts represent a sort of deep gulf for us. Take Hamlet. Professors will tell us, each for himself, that they have discovered an objective Hamlet. They suggest to us revolutionary Hamlets, rebel and impotent Hamlets,

Hamlet the outsider, etc. But there is no objective Hamlet. The strength of great works really consists in their catalytic effect: they open doors ...'

(Grotowski: 1968, p57)

If in role-play we become somebody else, in acting from text we become, 'somebody else's somebody else' (Rosen: 1980). But although the dramatist creates a self-contained world in the play, he/she can only indicate how those who inhabit it look, sound and behave. A text is the encodement of the drama. The rich three-dimensional world the dramatist seeks to evoke exists on the page in an abstract form from which it is impossible:

'..... to derive the performance itself by some logical formula'.

(Simmel: 1973, p305)

Giving the world of the drama a living, animate form involves the director and actors in a sustained effort of interpretation, which draws heavily on inference, intuition and skill.<sup>14</sup>

It is for this reason that memorable performances are indelibly stamped, not only with the original creative work of the dramatist, but with that of the actors who bring it to life: Gielgud's Hamlet; Warner's Hamlet and so on.

If children can work creatively with other people's material, they can also be encouraged to do so with their own. 'Interpretation' is not a function of whose material is being used, but of the process of searching for meanings in existing material and for ways of

making them explicit. There is enormous potential here for cross-fertilisation of ideas within a group through watching and responding to each other's work and working further on it. Interpretation is endemic to group work. It is intensified in performance-based activity by the need to make the meanings explicit for an audience who may have no prior knowledge of the work.

### 13.3 The sense of audience

Britton et al (1975) have discussed the writer's sense of audience. Although writing - 'a soliloquising monologue' - seems to liberate the writer from the pressures of an audience's immediate demands, it is clear that in practice:

'.....: the act of writing inserts itself into a network of social relationships which will make him say this rather than that, in this way rather than in that ..... An invisible audience will exert some degree of control over his writing, impelling him towards choices along every dimension of language'.

(Britton et al: 1975, p58-59)

In dramatic activity the audience is vividly present. Even in the drama lesson, the child works with other members of the group as audience to his/her actions and this exerts a comparable influence over both language and gesture, at the real and the symbolic levels. Similarly, the actor will adapt his/her performance, albeit within closer limits, as he/she interprets the audience's reactions and responses. Interpretation - the dialectic of subjectivation and objectivation - pervades the activities of drama at all levels, including the relationship between actor and audience. The audience thus takes an active role in the playing of the drama.



#### 14 The role of audience

Putting children in the role of audience has been discouraged because of its apparently being uncreative and passive. Is this necessarily true? The audience is not incidental to theatre but one of its defining elements. Accordingly, the role of audience is both of spectator and participant.<sup>15</sup> The general functions of these activities are responsive. In this they are both interpretative and appreciative.

#### 15 Responsive functions (1): interpretation

##### 15.1 Is art a system?

In order to indicate the creative activity of the audience I want first to distinguish between three main forms of symbolic activity - aformal, systemic and schematic - and to locate the symbolic forms of the arts within these.

Art is frequently referred to as a system. Polanyi, for example, places art among 'the great systems of utterance which try to evoke and impose correct modes of feeling' - science, religion, morality, law - 'and other constituents of culture' (Polanyi: 1969, p132).

Similarly, Berger and Luckman write of 'the immense edifices of symbolic representation that tower over the reality of everyday life', and add that 'religion, philosophy, art and science are the historically most important systems of this kind' (Berger and Luckman: 1971, p55).

The meaning of a play cannot be derived by a logical formula, however, precisely because art is not a system.

### 15.2 Formal and aformal symbols

Symbolism arises as we have noted (Chapter Five : 5) from a general capacity for 'abstractive seeing'. It is not a special quality of a particular species of objects or events, but a function they serve. Nevertheless, where some objects or events are devised with a symbolic function in mind - words, mathematical signs, paintings and so on, are created and employed intentionally as bearers of meaning - others are not.

Any object or event may serve as a symbol for me because of personal associations with them, or according to my subjective state in their presence. So a sunset may represent melancholy or sublimity, just as a made object - an ashtray or pen - may have a personal significance, unique perhaps to myself. Such meanings are personal, psychological, and aformal.<sup>16</sup>

Formal symbols are those which are created or used intentionally to carry meanings from one person to another: objects, events, propositions and so on. Their meanings are available inter-personally through logical constructions of various kinds. Within the broad band of formal symbolism we can distinguish between those which are systemic and those which are schematic, and suggest that the symbolism of the arts is of the second type.

### 15.3 Systemic symbols

Spoken and written language and mathematics are obvious examples of systemic symbols. They are characterised by having:

- (a) separate elements which are definable in terms of each other;
- (b) syntactical rules governing the relationships into which they can be meaningfully composed.

Systemic symbolisms are rule-governed to the extent that sense is clearly divided from nonsense through interpersonally agreed procedures of discourse. They are, in this sense, objective. In such a symbolism, there are only certain ways in which the various elements can be composed and still make sense. We may not be able to understand what a given proposition means, but we can generally recognise that it has a meaning through its conforming to the logic of the system. And if we meet a new word we can always look it up.<sup>17</sup>

#### 15.4 Schematic symbols

If we want to understand the meaning of a painting, however, we cannot turn to a dictionary of colours or a grammar of visual forms to see what blue and green usually mean when they are put together. There is no manual of significance to tell us what a sonata is driving at, and no dramatic taxonomy will decode a play for us. There is no fixed usage for the symbolism of art, which divides sense from nonsense.

A painting, a play, a symphony, a novel are complex and unique schematic symbols created out of a sense of essential form rather than of conventional usage. The artist creates these forms through a reflexive process of expression in which the forms themselves emerge through exploring the particular issues at hand.<sup>18</sup>

Schematic symbols may be created out of systemic symbols. Plays are written in words after all; and there is musical notation. But the score is not the music, just as the text is not the play. These are the forms in which the schematic work is encoded and from which it must eventually be translated.

### 15.5 Expressions in and by drama

Our response to a poem is not the same as to a piece of technical prose. It is a feature of schematic symbols that we respond to them as a whole. That is, the complete work, the play, the poem, has a meaning and a power which transcends that of its component parts. We do not simply respond to what a poem says line by line, in a piecemeal way, but to how it says it as a complete work—to its unique configuration.

Similarly, in watching a drama, the audience is not faced with something that it can unravel systematically, by reading off its meaning like a ticker-tape. Like the actors and director, the audience are involved in a sustained effort of inference and interpretation. Our perception of a play involves a collaboration in which we meet the representations on the stage with a reciprocal projection of our own into the world of the drama. These acts of collaboration lock together in forging the communication of the play.

A drama is open to interpretation on two levels: of what is expressed in the play and of what is expressed by the play. We interpret what is being expressed in the play as it unfolds before us by following piecemeal the actions of the characters. It is only when the drama is over that we can make our own sense of what is expressed by the play as a whole.

I say 'our own sense' because what the play means for us may be quite different from its meaning for the actors, the dramatist or the director. There is no objective Hamlet because there is no systematic link between the artist's original intentions and our own reading of them. Consequently, the communication of a work of art always involves at least two creative actions: that of the artist and of the audience. In the performing arts it always involves at least three.

## 16 Responsive functions (2): appreciation

I have referred several times to the notion of 'form' both in relation to the playwright's structuring and control of the drama and more generally in relation to schematic symbolism as an expression of 'essential forms'. I have also referred to the reflexive relationship between form and content. In the next chapter I will be looking in more detail at the concept of form as one of the four major components of drama. We must note here, in anticipation of that discussion, that the audience's response also comprises an appreciation of the form of the drama, and that inherent in this process of appreciation is the more general, and problematic, question of 'aesthetic' response.

## 17 A basis for inference

The relationships I can see between these various roles and functions are laid out diagrammatically in Figure 1 overleaf. This is not meant to be a picture of drama. To illustrate how the process operates we would probably want something like a moving spiral. Neither does it intend to mark in all of the various nuances and permutations of drama in practice. To do so would probably produce something like a map of the Underground. A visual display such as this is only useful as a basis for inference. There are a number of inferences which I want to make immediately.

First, all of these functions are related: each one is in some degree in every other. The child who turns and shows his work to the rest of the class moves from being primarily the initiator to being the animator of his own drama. The two roles will merge if he/she begins to create fresh turns in the drama as he/she goes along. Still he/she is doing something more complicated now than when working without the external audience because of the more intense pressure to communicate. Those who watch are in the role of audience,

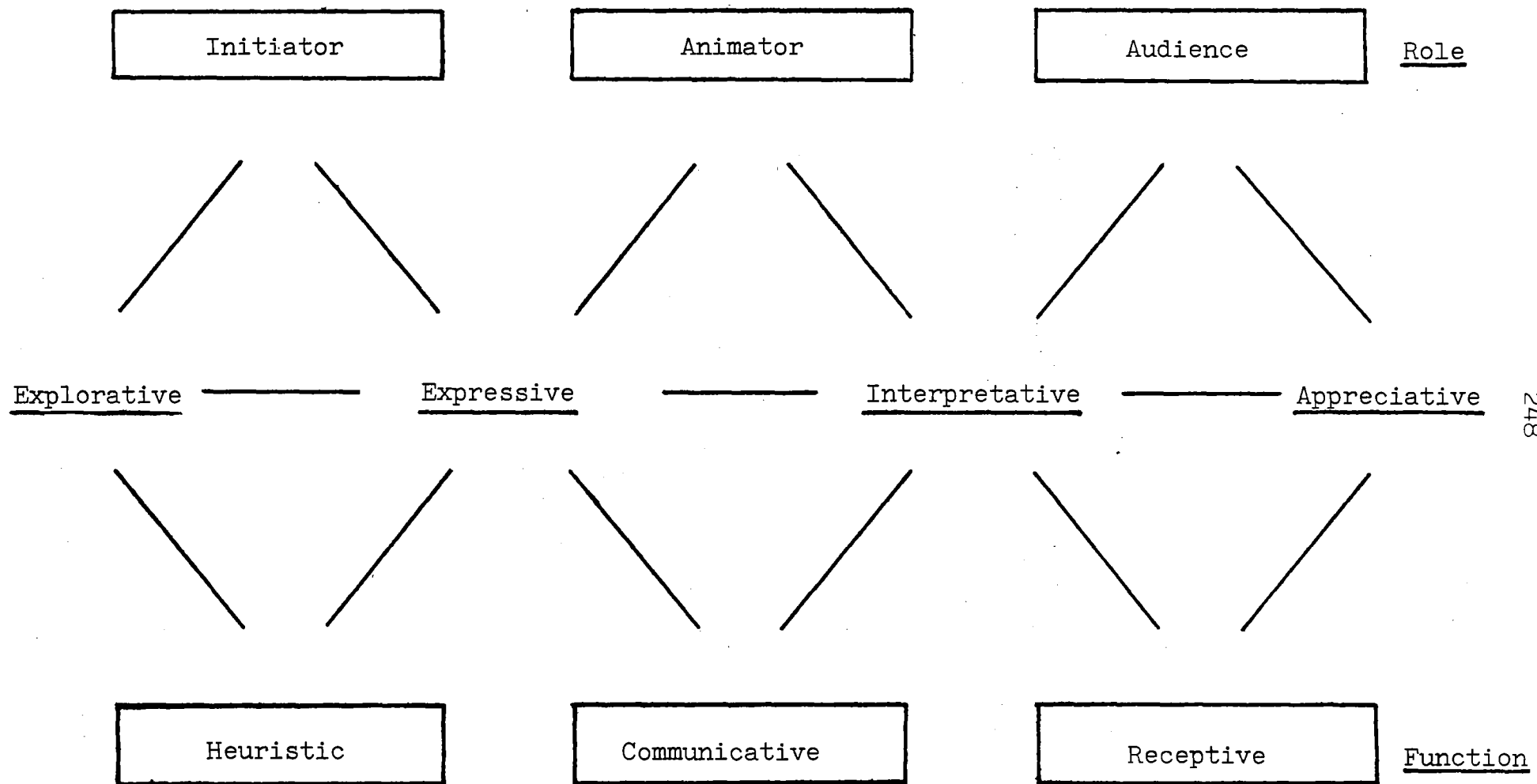


FIGURE 1: ROLES AND FUNCTIONS IN DRAMA

if only briefly, before moving back themselves into the role of initiator in their own work.

Second, the history of drama in schools has seen different aspects of this process emphasised at different times and for different reasons. The fact that they all carried on being called drama simply illustrates this. Until the movement represented by Child Drama began, the activities to the right of the diagram were most approved. They gained their approval largely as part of the general process of cultural transmission. This tended, however:

- (1) to undervalue personal, creative and expressive work in the arts;
- (2) to look upon the creative arts principally as the work of a gifted and privileged group.

Rationalist approaches to education see some value in the role of audience, of course, in so far as learning to understand and appreciate works of art is one aspect of being initiated into the public forms of knowledge (See Chapter Two, Note 29). Naturalist approaches, on the other hand, tend to value activities to the far left of the diagram to do with personal expression. I have suggested that such approaches tend to disregard:

- (1) the need to analyse personal attitudes and feelings;
- (2) the need for contact and negotiation with the world of others.

Both approaches tend to overlook the dialectical nature of learning and the part which the whole process of dramatising can play in this. They leave the idea of drama in education only partially complete.

In the chapters which follow I will argue for the value of this process as part of a more general conception of

'cultural education'. This differs from cultural transmission by emphasising the evolutionary nature of 'culture' and the role of the individual within, and in relation to, the social group. This notion of cultural education has implications for two central issues in drama teaching:

- (1) the role of drama in the education of the emotions;
- (2) the place of realised art - plays and texts - in the classroom.

We will pursue these issues in Chapter Eight. I want first, however, to look more closely at the process of drama itself, and to propose a framework for tackling the assessment and evaluation of these experiences in the classroom.

## 18 Summary

In this chapter I have looked at the relations between drama, theatre and social reality and have distinguished two sets of conventions controlling the form of drama. I have considered the relations between real and symbolic roles and the ways in which these underline the political character of both drama in the classroom and theatre. The concept of process has been discussed in relation to a series of roles and functions which run through dramatising as a whole. Within this I have looked particularly at the concept of expression and argued that the arts deal in expressive action and response, and require a reflexive process of objectivation and subjectivation. Drama is not a rehearsal for real life nor an opportunity for giving vent to emotions. It is a mode of enquiry and exploration concerned with qualities of feeling and perception. I have discounted the association of representing with feigning and looked at the relations of expression and representation, and at the elements of interpretation in both.

I have discussed the creative response to text, discounting the idea of art as a system, and argued for the complementary and creative role of audience. I have concluded by pressing for a use of the whole process of dramatising in schools, criticising the partiality of some past and present approaches, and suggested the need to see drama within a more general conception of cultural education.



## CHAPTER SEVEN

### EVALUATION AND ASSESSMENT: THE COMPONENTS OF DRAMA

#### 1 Reasons for the chapter

- (i) To consider what is involved in evaluating and assessing classroom drama work.
- (ii) To describe an approach.

#### 2 Accountability

I have discussed the diversity of drama in schools, both in terms of current lesson contents (see Appendix 2), and of the range of roles and functions in the process as a whole. I want now to consider how this process works, and, simultaneously, how it can be evaluated. The pressures of accountability have made questions of evaluation and assessment insistent for teachers. How are they to respond to these pressures in drama and what approaches are most suitable?

There is a tendency to look upon evaluation as something which takes place after a lesson or course of work— as a kind of post-mortem. My purpose in integrating this discussion into a consideration of the process of drama is to illustrate that effective evaluation must be seen as an integral part of the work itself.

I have referred several times to the tendency for teachers in drama to use rationalist/objective approaches to evaluation and assessment. This is the case in two ways:

- (i) in using norm-referenced techniques; e.g. grades, marks and percentages;

- (ii) in using aims and objectives as the prime references for evaluation.

We will need to reconsider both approaches.

### 3 Evaluation, assessment and examination

Although they are often interchanged,<sup>1</sup> the terms evaluation, assessment and examination do not refer to the same things.

The purpose of assessment:

'...is to make statements about the recipients of an educational service  
..... about their actual and potential accomplishments in relation to the opportunities provided by that service!'<sup>2</sup>

(My underlining)

We should distinguish between those assessments which are informal - teachers are constantly making such judgements without writing them down or sharing them with anyone - and those which are formal - for use by colleagues, employers, parents and so on.

Examinations are structured instruments of formal assessment. We will be more directly concerned with issues involved in formal assessment in Chapter Nine.

Evaluation is a more general process of coming to understand the worth of something. This, I will argue, means recognising the multiple dimensions and varying perceptions of its worth. Evaluating any event will vary according to:

- (i) who is doing it and for whom?
- (ii) what is being evaluated and why?

The purpose of educational evaluation is not only to make statements about the recipients of an educational service -

the pupils - but about the service itself; that is, about the teaching.

#### 4 Objectives and objectivity

The dominant approach to educational evaluation is particularly favoured in some demands for accountability, and particularly unsuited to the needs of education. This is the 'objectives model'. According to this there are three main stages in any educational process. First, the teacher specifies the aims and objectives of the course. Second, he/she designs and conducts the lesson(s) so as to achieve the stated objectives. The third step is evaluation in which he/she attempts to establish to what extent the objectives have been achieved.

This model was formally set down in 1949 by Ralph Tyler who, in a key paper, asserted that, since educational objectives aim:

'..... to produce certain desirable changes in the behaviour patterns of the student, then evaluation is the process of determining to what degree these changes in behaviour are actually taking place' (Tyler: 1949, p106).<sup>3</sup>

The compilation, by Benjamin Bloom and others during the 1950's, of two Taxonomies of Educational Objectives<sup>4</sup> built on Tyler's foundation as part of a search for reliable ways of measuring the correlation between objectives and outcomes. This movement, in which the work of Sir Cyril Burt took so large a part in Britain, drew heavily on the research procedures of the social sciences and of psychometrics.

If objectives could be specified sufficiently clearly, it was held, the changes in behaviour could be accurately measured. Thus the child's attainment and, by inference,

innate potential, could be 'scientifically' established.  
(See Chapter Two: 6.3).

An important feature of this 'scientific' model is its claim on 'objectivity'.<sup>5</sup> Despite the allure of this approach there are a number of serious pitfalls.

#### 5 Adaptation and responsiveness

Although the objectives model is linear, logical and apparently straightforward, educational processes are not. Many of the actual effects of a lesson are not planned and may be completely unforeseen. Although teachers need to have clear aims and objectives in mind, these may be modified in practice to accommodate children's responses during the lesson. Indeed, these actual effects may be more important than those intended. This process of adaptation and response is at the heart of how education works in the classroom.

The objectives model, however, encourages teachers to look principally at the initial objectives asking, 'Were these achieved?' Teachers who abandon or modify initial objectives, in response to unforeseen opportunities, may conclude that they have failed in the lesson by not having done what they set out to do.

The danger of the objectives model is that it can blind us, in this way, to what is actually going on, by encouraging a pre-occupation with what was planned. Any other outcomes are only 'side-effects'. There is another problem here: that of defining the objectives in the first place.

#### 6 Expressive and instructional objectives

It may be possible, in some forms of work, to specify changes in student behaviour; particularly where specific skills are

involved—as in some aspects of language teaching, or in mathematics. But, even here, many outcomes are unpredictable. This is especially true in the arts. The effects of such work may be to stimulate a process of thought about issues which were simply taken-for-granted; a process which will continue to evolve long after the lesson. There may be no observable effects of this at all in the short run. Attempts to quantify educational outcomes tend however to regard them as static final products rather than as evolving events.<sup>6</sup>

In this context, Elliot Eisner has distinguished two main types of educational objective. The first, instructional objectives, specify skills and information to be learnt: the second, with a particular eye on the arts, he calls expressive objectives.

'..... An expressive objective describes an educational encounter: it identifies a situation in which children are to work...a task in which they are to engage; but it does not specify what they are to learn ..... An expressive objective provides both the teacher and the student with an invitation to explore, defer, or focus on issues that are of peculiar interest or import ..... An expressive objective is evocative rather than prescriptive'.

(Eisner: 1969, p17 )

Drama teachers do not always have expressive objectives. They set out sometimes to teach quite specific skills (see Chapter Eight: 6 ). But instructional objectives can only ever specify part of the business of education. In all cases, initial objectives should not limit our perceptions of what is actually going on during lessons.

## 7 Objective evaluation?

One of the hopes of the objectivist approach is to establish the 'real', 'true' value of a lesson or course of work. The

problem here is that evaluation, like education, is embroiled in questions of value; and values vary between individuals and groups, both in terms of the values and preconceptions they bring into a lesson, and of the varying capacities in which they experience it: i.e. as teacher or pupil.

The American evaluator Robert Stake puts this simply. A work of art, he says:

'..... has no single true value. A programme (of education) has no single true value. The value of an arts in education programme will be different for different people, for different purposes'.

(Stake: 1975, p25)

A full evaluation would involve gathering information on the responses of everyone involved in a piece of work. But even this process of information gathering is coloured by our questions, and our reasons for asking them. It is not neutral. Moreover, even when it is all collected, the problem of how to interpret this information still remains. At the centre of the process of evaluation, as of the broad process of science (see Chapter Five : 12.1.3), there is an indissoluble element of personal judgement. And for the teacher, as for the scientist, this is the most sensitive instrument available.

Absolute objectivity is as much a phantom as value-free evaluation. Values pervade every step of education from the distribution of resources and the framing of aims and objectives to the conduct of classroom relationships. A process of evaluation which fails to take account of differences of value will be blind. Education involves a view of society and evaluation involves a view of education. Accordingly, much of the debate about evaluation is 'ideology disguised

as technology' (Hamilton et al: 1977, p25). Where values are disguised or conflict, one group is likely to dismiss the evaluations of another; and so evaluation becomes not only blind but ineffectual.

## 8 New approaches to evaluation

Methods of evaluation merging from such considerations have been variously called 'holistic', 'illuminative' and 'responsive'.<sup>7</sup> There is no set pattern to them. They represent various attempts to develop forms of evaluation which are compatible with the processes in question. Their general characteristics are that:

- (1) they take account of the responses of all involved in the work: teachers, pupils, parents, would-be employers, colleagues, etc.;
- (2) they are naturalistic; that is, they seek to establish the effective, rather than simply to check on the intended, functions of a lesson or course;
- (3) they are adaptable, in that different approaches may be used according to the work in hand;
- (4) they are not restricted to 'objective' tests; such tests, where they are used, are only part of the evaluation;
- (5) they are descriptive and try to report on the 'flavour' of the work;
- (6) they look at the process rather than just at the 'products' of the teaching;
- (7) they evaluate the objectives along with everything else.<sup>8</sup>

## 9 Reflexive evaluation

Much of what is written about evaluation is by specialist evaluators who look at work as outsiders.<sup>9</sup> Often they see their role as informing 'decision-makers' about the effects of work, as a basis for further planning. The term 'illuminative evaluation' is sometimes used to denote this. Clearly, evaluation can have a number of functions.

Scriven (1967) distinguishes between 'formative' and 'summative' evaluations to denote those, on the one hand, which help to shape the development of a course of work, and those, on the other, which reflect on its overall effects. Teachers have to do all of this. They are both internal and external evaluators of their own work. This calls for methods of reflexive evaluation: for ways of feeding information and judgements back into the work both during a lesson and from one lesson to the next. 'Illuminating' the work is part of this. What then is involved?

## 10 The action and the act of evaluation

### 10.1 Description and comparison

Any evaluation comprises two distinguishable elements: a description and a comparison. If we say of someone, for example, that he/she can run six laps of a track, or jump a seven foot bar, we are offering a neutral description of ability. If we describe him/her as a 'good athlete', however, we are both describing and comparing this ability to some point of reference - in this case the notion of athleticism. This comprises the evaluation. Some evaluations are relatively simple in



structure, because the points of reference are relatively clear and fixed. If I say this is a good knife, or bridge, I may simply be relating performance to an agreed function.

In social and educational processes these comparative relationships are very various. For example:

performance to function	- e.g. a bad school;
function to need	- " schools are bad;
performance to moral	
standards	- " a bad pupil;
performance to potential	- " could do better;
performance to performance-	" 9th in the class.

To talk of 'a good teacher' or 'a good pupil' is to draw on a wide range of possible comparisons. Educational evaluation is immensely complicated because of this. For if pupil and teacher performances are variable so too are the criteria to which we compare them. There are a number of key variables in any educational encounter. These include:

- (1) pupil motivation;
- (2) classroom relationships;
- (3) teachers' ideologies;
- (4) the social values of the school.

We will consider each of these as we go on. Evaluating any lesson thus involves a high degree of what Polanyi (1969) has called, in another context, 'connoisseurship', in the exercise of personal judgement.<sup>10</sup> It is useful to distinguish in this context between the action and the act of evaluation.

#### 10.2 The action and the act of evaluation

By the action of evaluation I mean the gathering and organising of descriptive information about the work

and about responses to it. It is a kind of trawling for information in the flow of the lesson's activity and centres on observation and record. The act of evaluation is the actual making of judgements on the basis of this.

The problems in classroom evaluation arise when the acts of evaluation are impressionistic and unsupported; that is, when the action of evaluation is random or unsystematic.

This results, characteristically, in statements which mingle description and comparison in highly generalised ways: 'I thought they responded very positively this week'.

There are two areas in need of clarification in tackling the evaluation of any drama lesson:

- (1) a framework for a systematic action of evaluation;
- (2) the criteria, or points of reference for evaluative judgements.

It follows from all we have said that teachers must exercise personal judgements over lessons and that this process cannot be mechanised. I want to describe a framework within which these judgements can be made more systematic, and to offer some comments, later, on the clarification of appropriate criteria to which these judgements might be related.

### 10.3 A framework for evaluative action

On the basis of our analysis so far we can identify four main components of the drama process, each of which must concern teachers in their evaluations of the work:

- (1) social interaction;
- (2) content;
- (3) forms of expression;
- (4) use of media.<sup>11</sup>

## 11 The components of drama (1): social interaction

### 11.1 Two related tasks

Drama is quintessentially a social process. The principal reason for avoiding talk of objectives except in relation to specific groups (see Chapter Three : 3 ) is that, however similar they may appear in some respects - age, sex, 'ability range' - no two groups are ever really the same. These differences are more than demographic. They are to do with the unique patterns of relationships within any group. The tendency for different individuals to take different roles in different groups, to which we have constantly referred, is of particular significance for teachers who are concerned with productive group activity, specifically, as in drama, through the use of roles. Two related actions of evaluation are essential here:

- (1) to arrive at some understanding of the actual patterns of relationships in the group;
- (2) to consider the interaction of real and symbolic roles.

### 11.2 The real social network: the 'learning milieu'

Parlett and Hamilton (1977) write of the learning milieu of the classroom. This represents a network:

'..... of cultural, social, institutional and psychological variables. These interact to produce in each class ..... a unique pattern of circumstances, pressures, customs, opinions,

and styles of work which suffuse the teaching and learning that occurs there'.

(Ibid., p6)

The failing of collection code models of learning groups (see Chapter Three : 6.2 ) is in disregarding this interactive mode of a group's being together - the considerable ways in which individuals reciprocally modify each other's actions and behaviour.

Relationships in a group range from total unfamiliarity to long-established friendships and rivalries. The actions of a group in drama, in and out of role, are not just responses to the teacher, but to the expectations and pressures existing or developing within the group itself. For some individuals, in some groups, playing certain roles may be all but impossible. Moreover, it may not be playing any particular role which is difficult - for example, a quiet person being asked to play an aggressive one - but the fact of having to do it at all. Role is the expression of an individual's identity in a group, and the playing of new roles may be hazardous.<sup>12</sup>

Krech, et al (1962) distinguish broadly between social organisations - groups with functional relationships - and psychological groups - those which form spontaneously through shared sets of belief or values. Their assertion is that psychological groupings are formed to satisfy common wants, and that this results in the mutual reinforcement of shared beliefs. The reason why this group is joined rather than that, where a choice exists, is frequently that:

'..... its belief system ..... is more congruent with the already existing beliefs of the individual'.

(Ibid., p402)

This ideological cement is what bonds the group together. Since groups are not together constantly, ideologies tend to be reinforced when they are, through language styles, patterns of behaviour and so on. Two points proceed from this. First, promoting interaction in a group is no guarantee of the kind of negotiation which we discussed in the last chapter.<sup>13</sup>

Second, challenging the roles which hold a group together may threaten its ideological framework and may therefore be resisted by the group.

If children or adults are to take the real social risks which a productive involvement in drama may require, they will need some assurances that in real terms they will not regret it.

### 11.3 The interaction of real and symbolic roles

The interactions of drama lessons take place not only at, but also between the real and symbolic levels (See Chapter Four : 5 ). Two aspects of this second layer of interaction need to be drawn out here: first, the reinforcement, and second, the conduct of real roles through the drama.

#### 11.3.1 The re-inforcement of roles

Individuals realise their relationships with others through the enactment of roles. We have noted Schutz's emphasis on the importance of 'consociates' in personal development (Chapter Five:13.2). This derives in part from the continual re-inforcement of attitudes and beliefs within social groups. It comes also from the possibility of individual roles becoming reified as a result of this. In such cases, there is, 'a total identification of the individual with his socially assigned typification' so that 'he is apprehended as nothing but that type'

(Berger and Luckman: 1971, p108). Part of the potential of dramatic activity is for teachers to enable children to work within a variety of real groups in the class, so as to assume a wider range of real and symbolic roles, in the context of which different ideas and values can be expressed. By not taking care over groups in drama, or by allowing the same roles to be assumed continually, the teacher may simply reinforce the status quo of the group, despite all the social interaction which seems to go on.

### 11.3.2 Using roles

The teacher also needs to be alert to the use of symbolic roles to conduct real ones. At the Riverside Studios in London, for example, Dorothy Heathcote worked with a group of secondary children before an audience. During the sessions they looked at the responses of friends and relatives to a man's life and death. As one session was about to begin one of the boys asked Mrs Heathcote if he could play the corpse. It seems unlikely that he had some particular point to make about being dead. More probably he was trying to lessen his exposure in the group, by playing a passive role. By apparently moving himself to the centre of the drama, he may well have been trying to put himself at the edge of it.<sup>14</sup>

As a social process, drama calls upon the teacher to exercise continued judgements about the existing, and developing relationships in the group. This has a central part in planning work before the lesson and also in sustaining the work as the lesson progresses. As a form of teaching and learning, dramatic activity may promote new relationships and create the circumstances, at the real level, for a

genuine exploration of ideas and beliefs between the teacher and the class. The social interaction of the group is, in these ways, the source material of its drama. This suggests two levels in the lesson's content.

## 12 The components of drama (2): content

Drama is a social process in two senses. First, it comprises social interaction and group negotiation, and second, it is directed at understanding social experience. An arts process or a work of art (see below, 15:2) may, as we have noted, be about anything whatever that happens to interest the artist. There is no limit to the range of themes or issues which may be explored in drama. This is a central reason for avoiding definitions of drama as a 'subject'. (See Chapter Two :7.1.1)

Different art forms, due to differences in the media and forms of expression which characterise them, are addressed to feelings and ideas in different ways. Drama translates ideas into the medium of action and behaviour. It not only raises the question, 'What do you think?'; it also asks, 'What would you do?'. We should distinguish, therefore, between:

- (1) the subject-matter of the lesson - that is, the particular themes or issues at hand;
- (2) the content of the lesson - the views expressed and the opinions offered in pursuing these.

In Factory, for example, the teacher began with the general theme of 'authority'. He recognised, however, that this is too general to be tackled productively in the abstract. The lesson had to be focussed onto a more specific issue. His opportunity came in the middle of the session when one of the

girls 'fainted'. The teacher had not planned this. A possible strategy would have been to tell the other members of the group to move the girl to one side, since he was talking to two other 'workers' at the time. Instead, he had the girl brought to the centre of the room and stopped the work of the Factory to convene a meeting. He was going to take away the girl's life. Were there any comments?

The class then disputed the right of this man in this setting to take away this woman's life. This was the dominant issue for the rest of the lesson. Part of the teacher's task had been to discover it for the group.<sup>15</sup> (See also Chapter Eight: 4.5 )

### 13 The components of drama (3): forms of expression

#### 13.1 Dramatic form

The forms of expression used in drama must be distinguished from the sense of form by which they are developed.

By forms of expression I mean the roles, situations and images which are used to encapsulate the ideas and feelings being considered. So, in Lesson One, the teacher imposed a general form—that of the essence machine—on the groups' work; in Crossroads, the groups were free, for the most part, to develop their own forms; in Factory, the teacher again gave the form. These forms are not incidental to the ideas which are developed in drama, but central to them in two ways.

First, as in all of the arts, meanings are not simply translated into dramatic, visual or musical forms. They are conceived, characteristically, as dramatic, visual or musical ideas, whose meanings are only properly expressed in that form. Change the form and the meaning is changed. The children's abilities to



furnish themselves with dramatic forms is therefore central to the heuristic possibilities the process has for them. Second, and related to this, different dramatic forms promote correspondingly different lines of enquiry. This widely acknowledged reciprocity between content and form was well illustrated in Crossroads, where the groups were free to develop their own forms of expression.

Each of these (see Appendix 2) took the groups into different areas of exploration from the same initial starting point given by the teacher. In terms of evaluation, the teacher must consider both the need or otherwise to provide forms, and which forms these will be, according to how closely he/she feels it necessary to focus the work. Moreover, as the work goes on, he/she needs to consider the suitability of these for the task in hand and for the group in question.<sup>16</sup>

### 13.2 The sense of form

Dramatic form extends over time. As O'Neill (1978) has demonstrated, the notion of form has to do with the organisation of the work and the ways in which its various 'sensory elements' cohere. It is not:

'..... some kind of independent container for these sensory elements but, as Stolnitz has described it, "A web organising the materials of which it is made"'.  
,

(O'Neill: 1978, p7 and Stolnitz: 1960, p228)

Stolnitz distinguishes five major elements in the notion of form:

(1) recurrence - the appearance of the same elements at a number of different points in the work;

- (2) rhythm - a pattern of emphasis and pause;
- (3) hierarchy - distribution of emphasis which can lead to the centrality of one element in the work;
- (4) balance and symmetry - often achieved by contrast;
- (5) evolution - the unity of a process where the earlier parts determine the later and all together create a total meaning.

(Stolnitz: 1960, p233)

We noted in Chapter Six the playwright's need to control the meaning of the play through the conventions of space, time and world-view. We have also noted (Chapter Three:6.1) that 'tension' is one of the defining elements of drama. We can now add that these are elements and conventions of dramatic form, by which both the audience and/or the improvising group's responses are governed.

O'Neill usefully combines Stolnitz's categories to suggest that the broad concept of rhythm<sup>17</sup> contains within it both recurrence and balance and that tension - 'implying forces in conflict, power, pressure and resistance' - is an essential factor in rhythmic development. Evolution and hierarchy are equally extensive over time and it is:

'..... the movement towards the future in terms of the consequence of past actions rather than a pre-occupation with what happens next which gives educational drama its depth and purpose'.

(O'Neill: 1978, p53)<sup>18</sup>

Despite the evident differences in structure and control which distinguish classroom drama from theatre,

they have these formal elements in common.

Both the playwright and the improvising group develop their explorations through the dramatic mode, not only through the lines of enquiry suggested by the content, but through the patterns of meaning arising from the initial choice of dramatic form, and the sense of form by which it tracks its course.<sup>19</sup>

#### 14 The components of drama (4): media

##### 14.1 A plateau of competence

An expression is a projection of a subjective impulse through a medium: language, paint, movement, sound and so on. The use of the chosen medium of expression interacts critically with the evolution of the form and, consequently, with the meanings which emerge.

Slade and Caldwell Cook are among those to have recognised the early forms of drama in children's play. It may well be that drama grows in some senses from play (see Chapter Four:4). But it also grows away from it as imitative behaviour evolves into more thoroughgoing processes of representation—a progression from impulsive play towards a more formal use of roles as a means of organising ideas. Each of the arts revolves around the exploration of ideas and feelings through expressive forms. These expressions evolve through the use and control of media: in drama, those of movement, language, voice, space and time. To see this as merely an out-crop of play risks overlooking the need to develop skills and techniques<sup>20</sup> in the control of these.

It is sometimes assumed that dramatic skills are easy to acquire, using, as they do, the media of every-day expression. Innate capacities do not develop into special skills as a matter of course, however. Eisner (1976) has noted of children's paintings, for example,

that, from the ages of two to thirteen, there seems to be a regular and predictable development in the way children create the illusion of space in their drawings. At about thirteen, however, they seem to reach a plateau with respect to graphic techniques. Beyond thirteen, the person who is not given instruction will develop these skills acquired at earlier stages very slowly. Thus, the drawings of most adults cannot be easily differentiated from those of young adolescents. It is not surprising that this should be so.

'..... Drawing and painting are, after all, the products of complex skills. They do not develop from simple maturation ..... Since most adolescents do no formal work in the visual arts ..... there is no reason for them to develop highly sophisticated graphic and painting techniques on their own'.

(Eisner: 1976, p12)

Equally, although role play is an immediately accessible channel of expression for all children, it does not follow that they will routinely develop the skills in language, movement and dramatic form, by means of which the process of drama can be brought under their own purposeful control.<sup>21</sup>

#### 14.2 Controlling the media

The teaching of theatre skills was criticised in drama teaching because they were thought to inhibit self-expression. The more purposeful nature of expression, which we have considered, suggests that expression does not suffer through the acquisition of ways of controlling the media, but is enhanced by it. Moreover, it is part of the teacher's role to help children in this respect; not for the specific experience of performance, nor as ends in themselves, but as part of the

broader process of controlling the direction of their own work. Judging their continuing states of development in this area is, therefore, a central task.<sup>22</sup>

## 15 The negotiation of meaning (2): the process of drama

I have discussed a range of roles and functions in drama in schools and have outlined four main components in the process itself. I have argued that the various 'types' of drama reflect different emphasises being placed by teachers on these different aspects of drama. This has important implications for the evaluation of day to day work.

### 15.1 Focal and subsidiary awareness

Polanyi (1969) has distinguished two main kinds of awareness: focal and subsidiary. He illustrates this by saying that, if we are driving a nail with a hammer, we attend both to the nail and to the hammer, but in different ways. We watch the effects of our strokes on the nail, so that, when we bring the hammer down, we do not feel that its handle has struck our palm, but that its head has struck the nail. Yet we are certainly aware of the feelings in our palm and, this awareness guides us in handling the hammer effectively. If our attention shifts onto these sensations in our hand, however, we are likely to miss the nail.

'..... The difference may be stated by saying that (the sensations in our palm) are not, like the nail, objects of our attention but instruments of it. They are not watched in themselves: we watch something else while keeping intensely aware of them. I have a subsidiary awareness of the feeling in the palm of my hand which is merged into my focal awareness of my driving the nail'.

(Polanyi: 1969, p55)<sup>23</sup>

The four components are not different stages or levels of drama but contemporaneous aspects of it. The social exploration of content, that is, takes place through the development of forms of expression which are projections in expressive media. Nevertheless, at different times, and for different purposes, some aspects of the process come to occupy our focal attention, while we are only subsidiarily aware of others.

Moreover, the object of the teacher's focal interest may be of only subsidiary importance to the class; and it is often important that this should be so.

In Essence Machine, the focal interest of the teacher was not on the named subject-matter - summer days and haunted houses - although he emphasised these for the group. His concern was with their use of media and the development through them of clear forms of expression. All of his interventions related to this need for clarity. At the end of the lesson he asked for suggestions for some more essence machines and indicated that next week he wanted them to 'take this vehicle over'. There was in that subsequent lesson a diminished emphasis on form and media as he focussed his and the group's attention squarely on the chosen content.<sup>24</sup>

In Crossroads, the teacher was explicitly concerned with the notion of choice. This was the group's last session together after an intensive course of work. There were markedly fewer attempts here to structure the composition of group work or to practise skills. The teacher assumed a level of competence in drama and focussed directly on the content, leaving the choice of forms to the group. In Factory, the teacher provided both the form and subject-matter and exercised considerable control over the group's interaction. Drama was relatively new to the school and some of the children had resisted

joining in the work in the early stages. The teacher judged that they needed considerable help, therefore, in building belief and confidence in what they were doing. Comparatively little attention was given to technical considerations. His task was to make them believe in the Factory, and therefore in the issues which it raised. Lesson Four, Preparations, was wholly taken up with games and exercises and focussed on social interaction, trying to create the circumstances for more concerted work to develop later.

This is not the place to pass judgement on the effects of these lessons. Each has to be seen in the context of the general course of work, and much more would need to be taken into account. The crucial point is that these differences of emphasis, growing out of differences in intention, require the teachers to take more or less account of different aspects of the process in evaluating the lessons. Judged as an exploration of the supernatural, lesson one was scarcely penetrating. As an exercise in precision of expression, however, it may seem more worthy. Lesson two produced no satisfactory formal products for any of the groups. Yet the closing discussion suggested a depth of thought on the issues at hand which seemed to owe a good deal to the groping for forms in which they had been engaged.

#### 15.2 The arts process and the work of art

Drama in schools is an enquiry not a rehearsal. The outcomes of the process may not be a performance or anything for others to see. What then are the products of this work? By what criteria are they to be judged? If they are not works of art, in what sense are we justified in calling this an arts process at all? In turning to these questions, I want to distinguish, first, between process and product, as they relate to the arts, and then to consider some aspects of both of these.

### 15.2.1 Process and product

There are two forms of product in the arts: the one conceptual - a change in understanding - the other objectivated - an object which 'expresses' these understandings. In both senses, the products of the arts do not come necessarily at the end of the process, as its climax. Changes in understanding may occur throughout the work, not just at its conclusion. The process centres on the evolution of expressive forms, which is coeval with the development of understanding. A tangible object may result, its form and nature varying with the art form in question. In painting and sculpture, there may be a material object to be seen and felt. In drama, music and dance, there is not. Such objectivations exist only as they happen. A music lesson may produce a good deal of music. But it is all gone until it is played again.

Bridges (1976) draws a distinction between the 'task' and 'achievement' senses of teaching, pointing out that we can teach in the task sense without doing so in the achievement sense; i.e. without bringing about learning. Equally, children may be involved in the arts in the task sense without experiencing either of these products. We are justified in calling classroom work of this type an arts process, however, not because works of art are always achieved, but in so far as the process of exploration and expression in which the children engage, in both its functions and forms, is essentially the same as that in which all artists are involved.

### 15.2.2 Successive approximations

The process of creation in the arts, as elsewhere, is, with the reservations we have noted (see Chapter Five : 12.2.2), one of successive approximations.



The artist does not translate an idea into music, or paint, or drama. He/she is dealing with musical, visual, or dramatic ideas. It is only in the formulation of expressive forms that the idea itself is clarified.

Witkin (1974) uses the term 'holding form' to denote the early stages of this. The impulse which drives the individual to fashion an expression may result, in the first instance, in only a very rough approximation: a sketch, some jotted notes, an image. This holds the idea in frame as an object of attention. The process develops as the form is modified in clarification of the content.

As the meanings come more sharply into focus so the form becomes more precise. As Collinson puts it:

'..... The artist has to discover, as he expresses, what is the right gesture, or rhythm or sound, for externalising his vision in an intelligible form. It is a question of rummaging and this is sometimes referred to as the bricoleur element in artistic activity. Often, it is only by exploration into his medium that an artist can come to any substantiation or determination of his vision'.

(Collinson: 1973, p211)

Our sense of something to be expressed in the arts may predate any clear conception of form in which it may become intelligible. the search for forms to articulate the ineffable underpins the artist's use of sensory media to give shape to feelings and ideas, which, by virtue of their different logics, cannot be rendered in the discursive mode of language.<sup>25</sup> This exploratory process may or may

not result in an objectivated product. Only if it does, does it become relevant to ask about works of art; for it is only in relation to such products that we can raise the question at all.

### 15.2.3 The work of art

Some aspects of the transition from impulse to form, in the visual arts, are illustrated by Figures 2 and 3. Figure 2, a photograph taken in 1945 - here enlarged for reproduction - provided the starting point for a piece of work by the photographer and painter David Richards. This resulted in a screen print 'Snapshot 1945' reproduced here as a photograph in Figure 3. Richards explains his initial response to the rough image as follows:

'..... The snapshot was taken on a box camera by a British soldier ..... a friend of my father. The soldier just happened to be in the street in Trieste shortly after the Italians had capitulated to the British. I find snapshots taken some time ago fascinating for the chance information they contain. Who were all the people and if alive now where are they and what were their feelings at the time? Apparently the naked woman had been cohabiting with a German soldier and was now being publicly castigated. I felt angry at the crowd for interfering in something that was really nothing to do with them, as though they had to purge their own guilt .. I felt that it must have been an amazingly ignoble experience for the naked lover to be dragged down the street. I felt caught up in the story immediately prior to the snapshot being taken. I identified with

Figure 2

Snapshot, 1945

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the woman and tried to  
 imagine her involvement  
 and how she felt in the  
 situation'.<sup>26</sup>

We would be unlikely to call this raw image a work of art. But we might say so of the finished print. But this is substantially the same image. What, then, has changed? In what sense is the print a work of art, where the photograph is not? Richards describes the stages between the two.

'..... I wanted to turn the snapshot into one of a number of possible objects belonging to one of her 'prostitute' friends, perhaps found in the flat where they had lived. I was also interested in showing what mob mentality was capable of - the eradication of personality. Technically I wanted the print to appear like an old snapshot - slightly sepia brown with age, border no longer white but yellowing, bent corners, small stains on the surface of the photograph. All of these technical considerations in an attempt to give it atmosphere, a place, a time. More as an after-thought, I wanted to give the print a general symbolism and therefore chose the red cross mark on the most important figure for a number of reasons:

- (a) the situation reminded me of a ..... crucifixion;
- (b) a cross as a symbol of supposed wrong, to cancel, to eradicate;
- (c) to extend the story behind the snap into imagining the woman's prostitute friend as

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Figure 3

'Snapshot, 1945'

having acquired the photograph and using the nearest marker to hand, a lipstick, placing the cross on her friend and sending it to the woman's lover to indicate her fate.

I felt the lipstick cross gave a number of necessary clues to the content of the print and extended it beyond a mere copy of someone else's snapshot.'

#### 15.2.4 Aesthetic response

None of this information is contained in the final print. Nor could a reasonable observer be expected to deduce it all from the print itself. What is evident is a change of form from the raw image to the print. And what is evident in the print itself without ever seeing the initial image, is a deliberate control of the form and an expressive intention. It is here in the response to form that the notion of aesthetic response, and hence to a work of art, is bedded.

The concept of the aesthetic is much wider than that of 'art',<sup>27</sup> in that we may have 'aesthetic' responses to natural objects, and so on; a response, that is, to their inherent order and configuration. The work of art results partly from intentional attempts to induce such responses, through the purposeful manipulation of forms, and part of our response derives from contemplating such forms in themselves. As Reid puts it, the work of art is made 'with aesthetic intention' and is 'contemplatively enjoyed for its own sake as an embodied expression of ideas' (Reid: 1979,p5) We will need to pursue this notion of 'for its own sake' in the next chapter. I want to draw out

three points here. First, Richards's account clearly illustrates the need to control the meaning of the work through 'technical considerations'. Second, the work may not, for the reasons we have noted (Chapter Six:15 ) convey these intended meanings at all- a point we will also develop in Chapter Eight. And third, not everyone need consider this a work of art in the first place, although we could reasonably agree that it is an art work.

Reid distinguishes in this context between descriptive and evaluative senses of the term 'art' (c.f. Bridges above). Daily work in the arts may not produce 'art'. Indeed, a work may be a meaningless scramble to us. Yet, in recognition of its intentions we might still call it art in the descriptive sense. But 'speaking evaluatively, it doesn't come off' (Reid: 1931, p5).

Our use of the word 'art' is, in an important sense, an evaluation in itself. That is, it is both a description and a comparison, in which our personal values and responses play a determining role. Art, in other words, is not a quality so much as a function. It must be art to someone. The term is, to adapt Eisner, evocative rather than prescriptive.

We can make two proposals in the light of this. First, Child Drama or Child Art is not a separate species of art. It must conform to the general criteria of all art in needing to evoke an aesthetic response in the observer. Any work, whoever produces it, has to be judged in and for itself. For in the end, in describing something as art we are describing our evaluation of it. If

adults can bring out this response in us, so too can children. Second, in seeking to evaluate the arts in schools, a considerable degree of skill is involved; for we are concerned with evaluating a process which is, in itself, centrally concerned with questions of value.

## 16 The act of evaluation

### 16.1 Why evaluate?

I began this chapter by noting that evaluation is an attempt to understand the worth of something and that this varies according to:

- (1) who is doing it and for whom;
- (2) what is being evaluated and why.

I have been concerned here with reflexive evaluation of classroom work and have made two assumptions:

- (1) that the teacher is doing it for the benefit of the children and him/herself;
- (2) that evaluation must take place in each of these areas in order to promote changes in understanding and, in doing so, to enhance the quality of their work together.

There are other reasons for evaluating - for selection, for higher education and employment - and other audiences - parents, colleagues, employers. We will turn to these in looking at assessment in Chapter Nine. I will argue there that any form of assessment in drama must be derived from these daily evaluations, and must be based on the general principles which we have been discussing.



Evaluation looks not only at the pupils but also at the teaching. It is ultimately affected by the pluralism of values in education and should take account of this. Two further points follow. First, there is a pressing need for teachers to clarify their own values and evaluative criteria in teaching. Second, they must also take steps to canvass the views and criteria of those others who are most intimately involved - the children.

## 16.2 Teachers' ideologies

We noted in Chapter Two that there is a common gap between theory and practice and that, in consequence of this, it was important to distinguish between theory and ideology; that teachers may consider themselves to be anti- or a-theoretical but they cannot escape the influence of ideology, especially where it is unrecognised. Tacit ideology has the character of common sense and this can lead to profound contradictions and difficulties in evaluating drama lessons.

Esland (1971) has provided a cogent analysis of the varying ideological positions teachers assume in the classroom, and of the conflicts in practice in which these can result. He identifies two major ideological structures - 'psychologisms' - within which educational processes are tacitly construed. Each of these, the psychometric and the epistemological, 'has its own social principles, containing fundamentally different assumptions about human nature and consciousness' (Esland: 1971, p88); and its own consequences for curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation.

### 16.2.1 Psychometric models

The psychometric model derives from the rational/empiricist tradition and endows the child with an innate 'intelligence'. The teacher monitors the

child's progress in terms of 'objective' criteria of attainment, using the objectives approach which we have discussed. Tests of achievement within this model tend to relate to 'the degree of cognitive symmetry between pupil and teacher as exponent of the public theoretical knowledge' (Ibid., p89). The label 'culturally deprived', moreover, tends to be conferred on those 'whose cognition is grossly asymmetrical with those of their teachers' (Ibid., p90).

Knowledge as object, and the assumption of an innate 'intelligence quotient' by which it can be absorbed and reproduced, have become the dominant themes of teaching within this model. Through its association with the psychometric procedures of educational psychology, this model has become,

'..... powerfully institutionalised and constituted in the pedagogical perspectives of teachers in their taken-for-granted assumptions about intelligence, learning and the "good pupil"'.  
(Ibid., p92)

Esland contends that these assumptions divert attention from the need to criticise the knowledge structures of the curriculum and to recognise the processes by which knowledge of the world is subjectivated; and, specifically, from the social nature of these processes.

#### 16.2.2 Epistemological models

Epistemological models<sup>28</sup> are concerned with how the child actively constructs a world view and with the differentiated processes of perception, and of intelligence, by which this comes about.

Such concerns are clearly evident in the phenomenological approaches we have discussed, and also, for example, in the developmental theories of Piaget (1959) and the instructional theories of Jerome Bruner (1966). A common theme in such approaches is the power 'to transcend the here and the present' a power which lies 'in the possibilities for extrapolation which lie in the manipulation of symbols' (Esland: Op Cit, p94). Such approaches place different constraints on the teacher's role and on what is taught, and, therefore, on how achievement is evaluated and recorded. Within them it is necessary to examine the human power:

'..... to transform and transcend the active present through existentially different realities. It is also essential to examine the processes of interpenetration between the different tensions of consciousness and the transforming power of social approval and denial. The assumptions, preference system, methodology and reality tests will be fundamentally different from those of the psychometric epistemology'.

(Ibid., p95)

I have been arguing that such approaches have much in common with the forms of teaching that drama teachers are actually developing in the classroom. The problem for evaluation arises in attempting to legitimate such procedures within the fundamentally different framework of the psychometric model: a framework which has dominated the common sense ideology of educational processes.<sup>29</sup>

It does not follow, of course, from anything we have said, that drama teachers are committed, de facto,

to an epistemological/phenomenological position. It does follow, however, that they must clarify their own assumptions in approaching questions of evaluation, or live interminably with these contradictions.

### 16.3 Children's ideologies

We have referred to children bringing into the classroom a pre-existing stock of attitudes and beliefs, and to the teacher's need to identify these, if changes in understanding are to be promoted. There is a further dimension to this which we must note, although it cannot be dealt with here in any detail. Bernstein (1975) has examined the often profound differences between the world of theoretical knowledge presented by the school and the everyday knowledge of the child. Paul Willis (1977) has extended this discussion, in looking at the positive counter culture of the pupil, in his account of attitudes to school among working class boys in Learning to Labour. As Willis makes clear, the children's ideological beliefs may not be merely different to the predominantly white middle class culture of many teachers, but directly at odds with it. This has important implications for the notion of cultural education to which we will turn in the next chapter.

## 17 The need for objective evaluation: false consciousness

Within these terms it is still possible for evaluation to be objective and necessary that attempts should be made to make it so. The shift this entails is in reaching for procedures, of evaluation which are not somehow 'impersonal' or 'depersonalised' - grades, percentages and so on - but for those which take account of a pluralism of values. The teacher has one view of a lesson, the children have many others. One way of discovering these other perspectives, of course, is through open discussion; but there is a need for caution here.

I have maintained that the perceptions which are formulated through the arts are fully intelligible only in that form. Accordingly, class discussions are unlikely to re-produce the qualities of feeling experienced in the drama itself. Nor should they attempt to. The point is to provide opportunities for the class to talk critically about the work rather than to try to translate the work itself into a discursive mode. This process of class evaluation should focus on clarifying the issues raised in various ways of working, so as to advance the work to come.

In all respects, the key functions of evaluation in the classroom are to avoid 'false consciousness' about the social experience of the group. And this, as I take it, is also, by correspondence, the precise function of drama in the school.

## 18 Summary

In this chapter I have considered the need for evaluating drama and have distinguished this from assessment and examination. I have criticised the prevailing objectives model and called instead for more responsive, reflexive approaches, distinguishing, in this context, between instructional and expressive objectives.

I have identified the two main elements of evaluation as description and comparison and distinguished, on this basis, between the action and the act of evaluation. I proposed the need for a systematic action of evaluation and discussed a general framework for the exercise of teachers' personal judgements. Four main components of drama were used to contextualise a consideration of the process itself. Using the distinction between focal and subsidiary awareness, I gave an account of how the various elements of drama might be emphasised differently and of the implications of this for judging the effects of a lesson. On this basis I considered

drama's claims to being an arts process and looked at the notion of 'product' as it relates to work of art, touching on the question of 'aesthetic' response.

Finally, I discussed the need for teachers to clarify their own values in using drama, outlining two major ideological models derived from our general analysis, and pointed to the contradictions arising from confusing them. The need to penetrate the children's perceptions of the work was emphasised in anticipation of discussing the notion of cultural education, in the next chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHTTHE ROLE OF THE TEACHER: DRAMA AND CULTURAL EDUCATION1 Reasons for the chapter

- (1) To identify the main roles of the teacher in drama.
- (2) To consider these roles in relation to:
  - (a) educating the emotions;
  - (b) cultural education.

2 The negotiation of meaning (3): negotiation and interaction

I argued in Chapter Six (10:3) that if teachers are concerned with developing the individual, they must enable children to recognise their own beliefs and attitudes and to look critically at them. They must also be concerned with promoting changes in understanding in the light of this. I have also suggested that there are qualitative differences between negotiation and interaction in drama. What are these and what are the real roles which the teacher must adopt?

The first task for the teacher is to encourage children to work as a group. However, in itself, this may simply reinforce existing roles and attitudes. The challenge is to move forward from this to more productive ways of working. Group negotiation goes further than group interaction in six ways.<sup>1</sup>

First, the social pressures in a group may inhibit the expression and development of ideas. Negotiation involves an open exchange of views. Second, group activity may be entirely frivolous. Negotiation involves a serious

engagement with issues and ideas. Third, group activity may be imbalanced, with only certain members contributing or involved. Negotiation involves a collective interest and involvement in the issues. Fourth, group activity may consist in a partisan opposition of views. Negotiation requires that those involved 'be prepared to examine and be responsive to the different opinions put forward' (Bridges 1976, p12). Fifth, unlike argument or debate - both social activities - negotiation requires that participants are prepared to be affected by the views of others.<sup>2</sup> Sixth, negotiation requires an intention to develop one's own understanding of the issues at hand.

Although dramatic activity may facilitate the process of negotiation, it does not guarantee it. How does the teacher help?

### 3 The roles of the teacher: preliminary remarks

#### 3.1 The teacher as enabler

A teacher cannot be held entirely responsible for what children learn or fail to learn. The complexities of the learning milieu and of pupil motivation do not sanction firm guarantees. This has important implications for accountability, as we shall see in Chapter Nine. Teachers are responsible for the quality of opportunities which are provided for learning. In this respect the teacher is best seen not as a transmitter or initiator, but as an enabler - one who creates the circumstances for learning. It is on improving these that their roles must be focussed. What does this involve in drama?

#### 3.2 Using roles

The playing of roles is not an end in itself. All children have the capacity for role-play. The job of the teacher is not simply to exercise this capacity, but to



harness it to an educational purpose - a change of understanding. I have distinguished acting-out from more general role-play in three respects; it is collective, sustained and purposeful (Chapter Four 10:1). It is the teacher's task to make it so.

### 3.3 Focal and subsidiary awareness

The teacher is not outside the process of children's work, controlling it from some neutral zone; he/she is an integral part of it. In drama this may be so in a direct way, through playing a role in the drama itself.

An important characteristic of classroom drama, as opposed to theatre, is what Gavin Bolton (1980b) calls its 'existential mode'. The experience for the children is a mixture of 'it is happening to me' and 'I am making it happen'. Bolton notes a distinction by Geoffrey Gilham<sup>3</sup> between the play-for-the-teacher and the play-for-the-children. The teacher's objectives - to pursue an issue or idea - may differ considerably from those of the children whose concern may be with the plot. As Bolton emphasises, this results in different senses of structure. Where the children may be principally concerned with 'what happens next', the teacher may continually check the flow of the drama so as to pursue ideas or issues arising from it. In our terms, what occupies the teacher's focal awareness may be of only subsidiary interest to the children, and vice versa. Thus, there arises a dialectic between the overt and covert meanings of the drama, which the teacher must focus and control.

### 3.4 Objective and subjective understanding

In educational terms it is not the overt actions of the drama which matter most, but the ideas and feelings which prompt them. Bolton recognises the need to understand the relationships between subjective and objective

meanings in drama, although his definition of 'objective' as 'collective, social, impersonal, scientific' (1979, p21), is not helpful.

Objective meanings are not impersonal, but inter-personal. Partly because of this, although it involves collective interest by the group, the process of negotiation need not result in a final agreement. There may be considerable disagreement. What is essential is that the issues have a collective significance so that the group's actions within the drama become genuinely expressive, and their ideas exposed to inter-personal judgements.

### 3.5 Drama and the real world

The world of a drama is dialectically related (see Chapter Six:4) to the real world. The conventions of theatrical performances, by distinguishing the real and symbolic worlds, allow them to be seen in relation to each other.

Equally, the educational potential of drama in the classroom lies not just in the experience of a make-believe world for itself, but in the relations between it and the real world; in the group's using one to look at the other. The teacher must enable the children to make these connections; to relate the world of the drama to the reality of the natural attitude and vice versa.

### 3.6 The creative process

Experience, as Kelly (1963) argues, is not just enduring; it involves construing. There are two implications of this for drama in the classroom.

The first, as we have noted, is that our existing conceptions are tested in the flow of novel experience. Dramatic activity provides infinite possibilities for this, through creating new situations in which children's

existing ideas can be put to the test of different circumstances. Second, this exactly exploits the key feature of the creative process, as we have described it: the bi-sociation of ideas from one frame of reference or sphere of reality with those of another. All of our existing conceptions have heuristic powers. The task for the teacher is to exploit these powers by enabling children to test their ideas and beliefs against the issues which the drama presents.

### 3.7 The strengths of the teacher: adaptation and response

The process of drama must be organised, but it cannot be routinised. This is because of the profound variations between groups in their expectations of drama and personal skills, and because of the same variations among teachers. Teachers have their own strengths and weaknesses at the real level, both in respect of drama and of different groups. What works with one may not with another: a lesson format which engaged one group may disaffect the next.

There seems to be no point, therefore, in prescribing this or that method of teaching drama. Nevertheless, there are now emerging from our analysis a number of real roles which all teachers must enact, if the experience of drama is to be productive for children.

## 4 The roles of the teacher

### 4.1 To step back

Each of the following roles suggests a high degree of control by the teacher over the group's activities. In the context of this analysis, this is clearly legitimate. Nevertheless, one of the teacher's primary roles must be, through increasing the children's understanding of the

functions and nature of drama, to become a less dominant influence over their use of it. If the process of drama is to have a continuing value for the children, they must be able to use it for themselves with more and more assurance.

At times the teacher must step back both to observe the work itself, and also to give the group opportunities to develop a sense of control and responsibility over each of these roles which he/she must first assume if the process of drama is to have the outcomes which we have discussed. The most difficult and the most important skill the teacher has to acquire is that of knowing when and how to intervene in the group's work and when to let them develop the work themselves.<sup>4</sup>

#### 4.2 To create security

Creativity is an attitude: a willingness to review the taken-for-granted. Inducing this attitude is a first priority. Drama involves taking risks at the real social level, both in taking on unfamiliar roles and in expressing personal attitudes. Children are unlikely to take these risks unless they feel that their contributions will be respected. Because of this, the teacher's first task is to create an atmosphere of security. Sometimes, indeed:

'..... one can go through an entire lesson and the only thing you achieve is that the children trust you'.

(Bolton: 1978c, p17)

If drama work is then to develop from interaction to productive negotiation, the group must move from the expression of attitudes and feelings to an exploration of them.

There are, in this respect, certain pre-requisites for productive drama work. These include the willingness to:

- (1) contribute ideas;
- (2) accept criticism;
- (3) challenge accepted roles;
- (4) adopt new roles.

Thus, many of the attitudes which have been tabled in the past as the outcomes of drama - spontaneity, sensitivity, and so on - are really starting points for it. Games and exercises may have useful functions here.<sup>5</sup>

Factory provides an example of this. The teacher organised the initial games and exercises - the hand-shaking and the wedding photographs, etc:

'..... to break down inhibitions and make the pupils feel easier in the presence of the film crew and technical paraphernalia'.

The children would have been less likely to contribute, he felt, if these real factors had not been taken into account. Games and exercises may function in two ways:

- (1) as a diagnostic process: to allow the teacher to observe the group, its patterns of relationships and of individual involvement;
- (2) as a kind of social accelerator, creating a more relaxed atmosphere within a tight structure of rules.

#### 4.3 To encourage response

Group negotiation involves exchanging views and feelings. The teacher must obviously encourage this. This involves

taking care of the structure and composition of groups. Many children contribute more easily in small groups than with the whole class.<sup>6</sup> The teacher can also give more attention to individuals in this way, although this is an obvious disadvantage in losing touch with other groups. The teacher may also need to put the children under pressure to contribute. This happened in the early stages of Essence Machine, where the teacher asked everyone to 'say something about what you saw' when he clapped his hands. He/she may need to re-organise groups where individuals are having difficulties, as in Crossroads, where the teacher asked one pair to exchange roles and try the situation 'the other way round'. The teacher must also recognise the need for children not to participate and respond from time to time, and also that these things may not always be overt; as with the child who sits quietly attentive.

#### 4.4 To build belief

The group must believe in the drama and accept it as 'real'. For Dorothy Heathcote (1980b), building this belief is one of the major tasks of the teacher. Without it, the learning potential of the drama is minimised. Unless the children in Factory accepted that situation 'as real', the issues which were raised within it would have had no credibility. The whole of the lesson leading up to the girl's fainting was a careful attempt by the teacher to encourage the group to accept the situation and to participate in it. He took great care to clarify both the dramatic conventions, saying explicitly when the drama would begin and that he would be taking part in it, and the existential conventions of the drama itself - 'if you ever go down there, you must wear these glasses'.<sup>7</sup>

The children's involvement in the drama, and, therefore, the quality of their work, is greatly affected by whether such conventions, and the movements between the various realities which they border, are acknowledged, and understood.<sup>8</sup>

#### 4.5 To focus and control

Dramatic activity must be intentional in both senses: first, in being undertaken with a sense of purpose, and second, in being directed at specific issues and ideas. Accordingly, the teacher must help to control the expressive activities of the group and also to focus their work.

##### 4.5.1 Control

In distinguishing between reactive and responsive expressions (Chapter Six 10:2:6), I argued that productive dramatic activity goes beyond the discharge of feeling. It is important, however:

- (1) that members of the group do express ideas and feelings;
- (2) that they have personal and collective interests in the themes of the drama.

One way of promoting interest and involvement in drama is to use the children's own suggestions for subject matter. Bolton (1980a) has written in this respect of the need to 'contain emotion'. Requests for a play about cowboys and indians, for example, may only reflect an interest in chasing and 'fighting'. The teacher's task is not only to use but to develop these initial suggestions - to channel the group's interest to a specific learning area.<sup>9</sup>

##### 4.5.2 The need for specifics

Langer describes symbolism as the power of 'abstractive seeing' - for recognising the general in the particular, the universalium in re (see Chapter Five 5:5:2). The dialectic between the general and the particular in drama is inherent in our talking earlier about making the problematic

familiar. The group must focus on a specific issue(s) rather than on an over-general theme. In Factory, the general topic for the teacher was that of personal responses to authority. His task was somehow to make this general notion specific (See Chapter Seven : 12), and concrete. The skill lies in selecting a focus which keeps further lines of enquiry open. As this lesson went on, there was some evidence that the wider issues were being seen in the specific: 'Well, you could take away all of our lives. Then what would happen?'<sup>10</sup>

#### 4.6 To clarify

Role-play is an interpretation (See Chapter Four : 6). We express attitudes to roles in the ways in which we play them. Children's representations of people and events give evidence of their assumptions and understandings about them. The teacher must enable them to recognise what they are saying. This may be done by stopping the drama, 'to see where we've got to', as in Essence Machine and Crossroads, or by building opportunities for reflection and evaluation into the drama. The frequent meetings during Factory had this purpose. In either case, the task is to help the group to clarify what they are saying, thinking and feeling. A change of understanding may begin with a recognition of what is understood.

#### 4.7 To challenge

The teacher must challenge the group's thinking, making the familiar problematic, and suggesting other ways of seeing. As Kelly has argued, all of our conceptions are capable of constructive change. In Factory, the group were outraged at what they saw as the manager's clear intention to kill the girl. The teacher perplexed the group by insisting that he wasn't going to kill her,



just 'take her life away'. This challenge to the group's understanding of the situation intensified their 'anger' at both his action and their efforts to clarify their own position, and to argue him out of his. This process of challenging the taken-for-granted is at the heart of creative activity, in drama as elsewhere.

#### 4.8 To inform

We noted earlier (Chapter Six : 9:1), Dorothy Heathcote's comment about drama lying outside the information explosion of modern life. This needs to be qualified. One of the tasks of the teacher in drama is to enable children to move from purely subjective responses to a more objective understanding of the issues in hand. Dealing with social and historical issues, for example, may involve giving the group access to specific and detailed information on events and circumstances, to deepen their judgement and understanding of them. Elsewhere, Heathcote (Wagner: 1979) emphasises the role of information-giver. Where the issues are specific, the judgements of the pupils must take account of particulars. Where source material is available, they may benefit having access to it. As Nicholas Wright has argued:

'..... It's when material ammunition of this kind is at hand for the study of social problems - rather than just the subjective experiences of happiness, helplessness, empathy or mistrust - that students begin to be armed against the mystifications of ideology and can begin to decide for themselves whether these 'problems' are in fact problems at all and, if so, what they can do about them.'

(1980, p103)<sup>11</sup>

#### 4.9 To instruct

Children need to control the media of drama (See Chapter Seven : 14:2). The teacher may therefore need to focus on the development of expressive skills: in movement, voice and so on. The teacher in Essence Machine moved in and out of this role of instructor throughout the lesson, encouraging individuals to look for more precise forms of expression. His concluding remarks confirmed this intention as he asked the group to consider whether they were, 'speaking with enough clarity? Using the right words? Employing the right gesture?'<sup>12</sup> Next time he hoped for a change of focus where they could 'take this vehicle over', knowing exactly, 'the rules and regulations, because that's what you've been learning today'.

### 5 The teacher in role

Britton et al (1975), in their consideration of the teacher's roles in enabling children to write, have noted that at the production stage - the act of writing - the teacher becomes distanced from the writer who is 'essentially alone with his thoughts, his pen and his paper' (Ibid., p32). In drama, the teacher may choose to step back as the work unfolds. But he/she can also participate directly in the production stage, creating the drama alongside the pupils, in role. This is a key technique of Bolton and Heathcote both of whom have provided detailed accounts of their thinking here. (Bolton, 1980: Wagner, 1979). I want to draw out two central considerations for teachers employing this technique.

#### 5.1 Real and symbolic roles

In both Essence Machine and Factory, the teachers took on symbolic roles during the lesson, for different, though related, reasons. The teacher in Factory was concerned, in part, with encouraging the children's belief and involvement in the situation. This was one function of

his own use of role. But, in role, he was also able to control and steer the process as it developed: a central task for this relatively inexperienced group.

The critical need, in such a strategy, is for the teacher to balance the symbolic role with the real role of teacher. The distinction between the play for the child and the play for the children indicates this.

'..... Left to themselves, children will structure for sequence, for the 'what-happens-next' of a story; the teacher will structure the situation. They will manipulate the contextual rules (eg cowboys and indian rules) to suit their wants; the teacher will manipulate the rules to meet what he sees as their needs.'

(Bolton: 1980b, p71)

If the experience stays entirely as a play for them, the teacher:

'..... might just as well have stayed out of it: if, on the other hand, he imposes his play to the extent of sacrificing theirs, only he will have had the experience'.

(Ibid., p71)

The teacher must both participate in the drama and run ahead of it to see where it might be leading. The elision of these two roles was clearly illustrated in Factory when the teacher/manager proposed to take the girl's life away. Having announced his intention he asked if there were any questions. This is a question which no autocratic manager would ask; but one which the teacher must.

### 5.2 The teacher in brackets

The teacher's use of role in Essence Machine was somewhat different. He played the role of the factory manager speaking at one stage by telephone to a critical client. The teacher was, of course, offering his own criticisms of the children's work. By doing so in role, he was able to maintain the flow of the group's work and also to leaven his criticisms of it. By adopting the symbolic role, his real role was not suspended, but put in brackets.

The central point is that the use of symbolic roles does not involve a new real role for the teacher. It is a technique for enacting, within the drama, the range of real roles with which we have described.

## 6 The teacher as playwright and director: the skills of drama

### 6.1 The need for control

In Chapter One we considered the varying conceptions of the teacher's role in drama : from the teacher-producer of the Speech and Drama tradition and the 'loving ally' of Child Drama, to the organiser of activities for personal growth. In describing the various functions of drama, in Chapter Six, I concluded that at different times some have been valued at the expense of others.

Equally, the value put on these various roles has tended to shift from one stage of the development of drama to the next. I am arguing for the necessity to enact them all. The role of the teacher in drama is comparable to that of the playwright and director in the theatre. He/she must structure the social aspects of the work, helping to determine the dramatic and the existential conventions of the drama. He/she must help to focus the issues of the drama and to control its form. He/she must

help the group to stand back from the drama, to view objectively the attitudes which it reflects.

The separation of drama and theatre was due in part to an assumed need to allow children to give spontaneous and uninhibited expression to ideas and feelings. The roles of the teacher, which I have described here, assume the need to balance spontaneity with discipline in the arts: that true creative work emerges through a sense of purpose and control. Drawing together this discussion and that of the components of drama in the previous chapter, there are four areas in which the teacher of drama needs to be particularly skilled, and in which, as the work progresses, he/she must also seek to develop the pupils' abilities, in order for them to assume a greater degree of control over it. These are not merely potential outcomes of productive drama activity, but to some extent the means for it to happen at all.

## 6.2 Social skills

The progression from group interaction calls on participants to be able:

- to work co-operatively with others;
- to contribute freely;
- to enable others to participate.

## 6.3 Analytic skills

The exploratory and interpretative aspects of drama call on the abilities:

- to recognise and question assumptions;
- to analyse ideas and feelings;
- to make comparisons;
- to gather, and appraise the significance of, material and information related to the work in hand.

#### 6.4 Expressive skills

Communication involves objectivation - the expression of ideas and feeling through a medium. Controlling the process of expression in drama calls on developing abilities in the use of the fundamental media of:

body;  
voice;  
language;  
space;  
time.

#### 6.5 Aesthetic skills

Exploring ideas and feelings through the arts calls on the ability:

to select appropriate forms of expression;  
to recognise when the chosen forms are no longer appropriate  
(c.f. Chapter Nine, Note 16);  
to understand the use of both dramatic and existential conventions;  
to control the formal elements of the drama  
(see Chapter Seven:13.2).

Dramatic activity reflects on social experience, while being a social experience in itself. The teacher's task, using the structures of dramatic form, is to help to clarify and explore the thoughts, feelings and actions in which it consists.

### 7 Educating the emotions

#### 7.1 Reason and emotion

How do these considerations bear on the role of the

teacher in the child's emotional development?

Do drama teachers help to educate children's emotions as they have long claimed to do (see Chapter Two : 6.3 ), and, if so, how?

We have discussed the ways in which emotion and intellect have sometimes been considered as antipathetic (See Chapter Two : 6). We have also argued against this by considering the subjective elements of the scientist's work and the common elements in the creative process of both arts and science.

It is beyond the scope of this study to discuss in any detail the complex nature and functioning of the emotions. I do want to make some specific points which bear on the role of the teacher, however, and to indicate some further reasons for not polarising reason and emotion.

We need to draw two general distinctions here: between 'feelings' and 'emotions', and between 'attitudes' and 'arousals'.

## 7.2 Feeling and emotion

By 'feeling' I mean the general subjective tone of personal consciousness. Feeling is an integral feature of a person's state of being. To be, as Witkin (1974) comments, is to feel.

Louis Arnaud Reid develops this point in describing feeling as the subjective aspect of a whole situation, in which:

'..... a conscious organism is together with a portion of the objective world'.

(1979., p6)

It takes its particular character in each case:

'..... from the particular nature of the object and of the particular relation of the subject to it'.

(Ibid., p6)

Feeling is not an 'abstracted hedonic tone', but a transitive state of being. It does not exist as a side-effect of cognition and perception, but rather as a constituent element of it.

By 'emotions' I mean intensified or agitated states of feeling; episodic and involuntary, but equally transitive.<sup>13</sup> We can distinguish further between an emotional arousal and a subjective attitude. An arousal occurs as an involuntary reaction to an event or situation. The pain of being bitten by a dog may combine with anger, fear or panic associated with the attack. This is correlated with an extreme physiological response: the diversion of the blood flow from the digestive system to the muscles; the release of adrenalin; the quickening of the heart beat; the release of sugar by the liver; the stimulation of the sweat glands, and so on. Arousals of this sort are episodic and subside as the situation changes or is resolved - with corresponding reversions in the person's physiological state.<sup>14</sup>

A series of such incidents may lead, however, to a general fear or anxiety of dogs which is experienced not as a constant arousal but as a latent attitude: a state of feeling which is invoked when they are near or brought



to mind. The point is that such feeling-states exist not as objectless sensations, but as forms of perception, borne from experience.

### 7.3 The intentional context of drama: virtual emotion

What of the nature of emotional responses in drama? In Factory, one of the girls became especially angry at the collaboration of one of the group in the proposed killing of the girl. Her anger was real enough within the drama; but when the teacher stopped the drama to discuss, out of role, what had happened, her anger subsided into smiles and laughter. Her anger related specifically to events within the drama: that is, the drama represented a specific 'intentional context'. More generally we can say that feelings experienced within drama are related to the virtual events which comprise it. They are, so to speak, virtual feelings and emotions. They have objects and are transitive. They may correspond closely, but they are not therefore identical, with our feelings within the natural attitude whose objects are taken to be literally real. This points immediately to some important differences between educating the emotions through drama in school and therapy.

### 7.4 A note on therapy

It is sometimes claimed (see Chapter Two : 7.5) that drama is therapeutic for children. There is a general sense in which this is true. The opportunity to express and formulate feelings may be salutary for any individual and especially for those who find such opportunities generally lacking. But therapy in the strict sense - the treatment of emotional disorders or personal disturbances - is not the province of the general classroom teacher. Such treatment pre-supposes forms of emotional disturbance which teachers would be unwise to assume in all children, and which they are ill-equipped to deal with, given the nature of classroom circumstances and of their own

professional training. Jennings's work (1973, 1975), as with that of Moreno (1953), indicates many parallels between the techniques of drama teaching and of drama therapy. Therapy, however, has this specific aim of dealing with deep-seated personal problems and disorders. If drama is a form of therapy in schools, it is so only in the sense of being concerned with the life of feeling in general. This more general role of dramatic activity arises, nevertheless, from the general relationships between emotions, feelings and cognition.

#### 7.5 Feeling and cognition

A feeling or an emotion in respect of an object is an appraisal of a relationship with it. Peters has argued that emotions and feelings differ one from another just in so far as the appraisals with which they are associated differ.

'..... Fear ..... differs from anger, largely because seeing something as threatening differs from seeing it as thwarting and these different appraisals have different consequences both physiologically and in the behaviour which may be their outcome'.

(Peters: 1974, p175)

The child who falls in the canal may experience a range of emotions according to how he/she perceives the situation in terms of his/her ability to deal with it. If he/she can swim, he/she may be angry or frustrated. If not, he/she may feel an engulfing panic.<sup>15</sup> Emotions and feelings, that is, are subjective appraisals of relationships. In many cases, emotions and feelings are evaluations of various kinds: for example, grief at a death; elation at a birth; pleasure at success; depression at failure; disappointment at unfulfilment.

### 7.6 Drama and moral education

I want to draw two points from these remarks. First, in considering the necessary conditions for educating feelings and emotions, we must recognise this association of feeling and cognition. A teacher who is concerned with feelings of racial prejudice, for example, must do more than allow them to be expressed. In so far as education is concerned with changes of understanding, he/she must encourage the group to examine their perceptions and appraisals of the situations to which these feelings relate. He/she must attend to the understandings of racial issues in which these feelings are rooted. The role of drama here is in the clarification and argument of the value judgements which are associated with personal feelings. Changes in feeling derive not only from changes in circumstances, but from changes in understanding.

Second, as Peters (1974) notes, many emotions and feelings are also regarded as virtues or vices. That is, they are given a social value: for example, envy; benevolence; lust and pity. No teacher can go far into the education of feelings, therefore, without encountering questions of social morality and of moral education,<sup>16</sup> and the consequent need to clarify his/her own moral position on the issues at hand.

### 7.7 Educating feeling

We have here a number of themes which help to clarify the roles of dramatic activity in the education of feeling:

- (1) the transitive nature of feeling;
- (2) the distinction between attitudes and arousals;
- (3) the nature of feelings as cognitions and appraisals;
- (4) the relationship between feelings and values;

- (5) the moral dimension of feeling.

Feelings are affected by all structures of ideas which influence perception. All curriculum work may affect the child's world-view and thus his/her life of feeling. Science as well as the arts has considerable influence here, if only, as Read and others have argued (see Chapter One : 4.4), in a negative way.

Drama and the other arts have a positive significance and value in two ways:

- (1) by giving status and a positive place to the world of feeling - allowing it to be recognised as an integral part of personal and social life;<sup>17</sup>
- (2) by enabling a direct consideration of questions of value and of relationships from which feeling states are born.

Educating feeling involves expression and negotiation. It is not a separate area of drama work but a constant dimension of it. It results not from an indulgence of feeling-states, but from a movement to greater objectivity, as subjective perceptions are made subject to the perceptions of others. To this extent, educating emotions, as with all education, is a cultural undertaking.

## 8 Drama and cultural education

I have referred several times to dramatic activity having a place in cultural education. In summary of this analysis of drama, its functions, components and the roles of the teacher, I want to turn directly to this notion of cultural education. Again it is clear that a knot of complex and difficult issues is encountered in this concept, which cannot be fully disentangled within the scope of this study. We need to broach

them, however, so as to set these processes in the broader context. A number of problems will also become evident here for the curriculum. We will turn to these in the final chapter.

## 8.1 The concept of culture

### 8.1.1 The arts and culture

The arts and 'culture' are sometimes used as synonyms. The present Chairman of the Arts Council of Great Britain has spoken, for example, of some children being brought up in a 'cultural environment'. This is one where,

'..... there are books on the shelves, parents who listen to music and visit the theatre'.

(Robinson, K, Rt. Hon.: 1978, p5)

Although the arts are features of a society's culture, and it is common to associate knowledge of them with the notion of being 'cultured', this is a very partial conception. Williams (1971) usefully distinguishes three general categories in the general definition of culture: the ideal, the documentary and the social.

The 'ideal' is one in which culture is a state of human perfection in terms of certain absolute or universal values. The analysis of culture within such a definition is essentially,

'..... the discovery and description, in lives and works, of those values which can be seen to compose a timeless order, or to have a permanent reference to the universal human condition'.

(Williams: 1971, p57)

The documentary culture comprises the body of intellectual and imaginative work in which human thought and experience are variously recorded. Cultural analysis here appears as the activity of criticism in which such records, and the thoughts and experiences which they encode, are described and valued.<sup>18</sup>

The social definition denotes a society's total way of life.<sup>19</sup> This comprises its patterns of work and recreation; of kinship; of ethical and moral codes; of intellectual practice and achievement; of aesthetic values; of collective belief; of modes of social organisation; of economic production and the distribution of political power and responsibility. The social definition is, in our terms, the general category, in that it promotes an analysis, not only of art and learning, but also of institutions and ordinary behaviour.

The arts are a feature of the social culture; but they are not, on this view, to be seen as some distinct zone of a social life which is its 'culture', as distinct from its religious or economic practice. The arts are not only an integral feature of the social culture, they are implicated in all aspects of it.

Two features of the social culture need to be drawn out immediately: those of interaction and of evolution.

#### 8.1.2 Interaction

We have discussed the social dialectic by means of which individuals influence each other's intentions and actions in the world (see Chapter Five : 13). Equally, the various aspects of the social culture

react and interact<sup>20</sup>: developments in one area affecting, directly or indirectly, those in others. It is precisely because of this that the analysis of culture is so complex.

Williams has argued, for example, for closer examinations of the relationships between patterns of industrial development and changes in democratic forms of government; their cumulative effects on the shape of communities and the organisation and content of education. These 'long revolutions' in industry and democracy are also enmeshed, however, in a broader cultural revolution which is in turn being interpreted,

'..... and indeed fought out in very complex ways in the world of art and ideas'.

(Op Cit., p12)<sup>21</sup>

The analysis of culture is not the study of separate areas of social activity, but of the relationships between the various processes of social life.

### 8.1.3 Evolution

Culture, in the biological sense, implies growth and transformation. An historical perspective on social culture confirms the aptness of the analogy. The England of 1801, with its population of 10 millions, was not, as Levitas (1974) points out, the England of 1901 with its population of 37 millions. The deliberate process of socialisation, of which education is the key instrument, nevertheless ensures some degree of continuity in the patterns of action and belief from one generation to the next. As Levitas puts it, socialisation of the young arises partly from the need among members of a society:

'..... to reach a basis of stable expectation from day to day. That stability depends upon the same expectations being constantly realised despite changes in personnel'.

(Op Cit., p3)

Equally, succeeding generations participate in broad changes in what Williams (1971) calls the 'structure of feeling' of a culture. Although one generation may train its children in the social character, new generations develop their own 'structures of feeling' which are not directly transmitted and which may differ in quite fundamental ways from that of their parents.<sup>22</sup> It is here, most distinctly, that:

'..... the changing organisation is enacted in the organism; the new generation responds in its own ways to the unique world it is inheriting ..... reproducing many aspects of the organisation ..... yet feeling its whole life in certain ways differently, and shaping its creative response into a new structure of feeling'.

(Op Cit., p65)

These patterns of evolution and of revolution are not only ideological, nor are they smoothly continuous. They arise also in reaction and response to changes in material circumstance: from the cataclysms of the natural environment to the fluctuations of economic buoyancy and recession; from the interactions of self-interest between individuals and social classes from one generation to the next.

Ideological responses to such changes are crucial none the less, and this underpins the dialectical nature



of social change which Berger and Luckman have analysed, in part, from the notion of dialectical materialism - the principle that:

'..... society exists only as individuals are conscious of it and that individual consciousness is socially determined'.

(Op Cit., p106)

This full-blooded determinism may take us further than we would go here.<sup>23</sup> The central point is that personal and collective knowledge is both a social product 'and a factor in social change' (Ibid., p104). The evolutionary character of the social culture results from the actions of individuals and groups, operating within the framework of existing knowledge, and from their creation of new understandings in relation to the changing circumstances which result. As Friere puts it:

'..... Inheriting acquired experience, creating and re-creating, integrating themselves into their context, responding to its challenges, objectifying themselves, discerning, transcending, men enter into the domain which is exclusively theirs - that of History and of Culture'.

(Friere: 1976, p4)

## 8.2 The arts and cultural change

The arts are features of the social culture. Works of art need to be seen, therefore, as the work of members of a society rather than of those who, by dint of special gifts, are somehow on parole from it. This has important implications for how the arts are taught in schools - for 'participation' and 'appreciation' - and also

for the notions of 'the cultural heritage' and of 'art for art's sake'.

I want to consider three aspects of this dialectic of art and culture:

- (1) the sense of audience;
- (2) the 'cultural unconscious';
- (3) the need to promote 'cultural consciousness'.

#### 8.2.1 The sense of audience

We have noted (Chapter Six : 13:3) the influence of the sense of audience in writing and in drama. Bourdieu has elaborated this notion in considering the influence of the various 'agents' in the intellectual field in which the artist works. This includes:

'..... other artists, critics and intermediaries between the artist and the public such as publishers, art dealers or journalists whose function is to make an immediate appreciation of works and to make them known to the public...'

(1971 a, p170)

In reaching for his/her audience, the artist, albeit unconsciously, must have an eye to those who will evaluate the work. He/she will also have intentions about how the work will be construed by its audience.<sup>24</sup>

In this sense, works of art, as Bourdieu notes, are partially created by their public.

#### 8.2.2 The cultural unconscious

Personal and collective ideologies influence the creation of works of art in terms of what Bourdieu

calls 'the cultural unconscious'. A work of art always leaves unsaid the essential: that is, 'the axioms and postulates it takes for granted' (Ibid., p180). This is the 'eloquent silence' of art which betrays the cultural assumptions - 'the unthought element in every individual thought' - by means of which the artist,

'..... participates in his class, his society, and his age and which he unwittingly introduces into the works he creates, even those which appear most original'.

(Ibid., p180).

This cultural 'flavour' of a work of art is not something which is added later to make it appeal to an audience. On the contrary, it constitutes,

'..... the necessary pre-condition for the concrete fulfilment of an artistic intention ..... in the same way that language as the 'common treasury' is the pre-condition for formulating the most individual word'.

(Ibid., p180)

The artist also works, in many conscious ways of course, within acknowledged cultural conventions - in the use of form, for example.<sup>25</sup> He/she may also work very deliberately to change or overthrow these forms so as to transcend existing assumptions or to lay them bare.

The dialectic here is between the push of personal insight and the pull of cultural pre-conceptions.

### 8.2.3 Cultural consciousness

The radical potential of art lies precisely in its ideological character and in its power of transcendence. As Marcuse (1979) argues, ideology is not always or necessarily mere ideology or false consciousness. The representation of understandings,

'..... which appear as abstract in relation to the established process of production are also ideological functions. Art presents one of these truths. As ideology it opposes the given society'.

(Op Cit., p13)<sup>26</sup>

For Marcuse, 'aesthetic form' results from the transformation of a given content - actual, historical, personal or social - into a self-contained whole - a poem, a play, a novel - which is taken out of the constant process of reality and assumes a significance of its own. As a result of this reshaping of perception, the work of art may represent reality 'while accusing it' (Ibid., p8). In this sense, every 'authentic work of art' is revolutionary; that is:

'..... subversive of perception and understanding, an indictment of established reality ..... breaking through the mystified - and petrified - social reality and opening the horizon of change 'liberation'.

(Ibid., pxi)

This function of art as a mode of abstraction and reflection directly underpins Brecht's notion of

alienation. Good or bad, a play always includes an image of the world, of how people behave in given circumstances. Accordingly, the audience is encouraged, in the way in which the play is presented, to draw certain conclusions about how the world is.

'..... In this exceedingly serious sphere the stage is virtually functioning as a fashion show, parading not only the latest dresses but the latest ways of behaving: not only what is being worn, but what is being done'.

(Brecht: 1940, p150-151)

For Brecht the task of theatre is to challenge the taken-for-granted by promoting a critical attitude in the audience. For:

'..... when something seems "the most obvious thing in the world", it means that any attempt to understand it has been given up'.

(Brecht: 1957, p76)

### 8.3 Cultural education

I have been describing the interactive and evolutionary nature of social culture and the ways in which the arts are enmeshed in and may yet transcend it. What then is cultural education and what are the roles of drama within it?

#### 8.3.1 Transmission and education

I have made some use throughout this analysis of Bernstein's notions of integrated and collection codes of educational knowledge. I have argued that the process of drama promotes an integrated view of

knowledge, in dissolving boundaries between existing frames of reference. Drama teaching is characterised by a relatively weak framing of the pedagogical relationship. The concept of frame relates to the,

'..... degree of control teacher and pupil possess over the selection, organisation, and pacing of the knowledge received and transmitted'.

(Bernstein: 1971, p50)

The nature of the framing thus affects,

'..... the authority/power structure which controls the dissemination of educational knowledge and the form of knowledge transmitted'.

(Ibid., p50)

In distinguishing between liberal and progressive education (Chapter Two : 6.1) I noted that liberal education - the pursuit of education as an end in itself - is compatible with the strong classification and framing of traditional curricula; with the role of teachers as transmitter and with education as a means of cultural reproduction. Progressive education is characterised by changes in classification and framing.

First, the weaker framing of the pedagogical relationship marks the teacher's relinquishing of the prime role of transmitter of knowledge.<sup>27</sup> Second, there is a relaxation of the boundaries, not only between the existing zones of educational knowledge - the traditional subjects - but also between educational knowledge and the everyday knowledge of the teacher and the pupils.<sup>28</sup>

In both respects, integrated codes, and the less visible pedagogies with which they are associated (Bernstein, 1975), represent an 'interrupter system' in the functions of the schools in cultural reproduction.<sup>29</sup> It is precisely because of this that progressive approaches may be seen as progressive, or even as revolutionary.

I have been critical of the teacher solely as transmitter because this strains against the evolutionary nature of social culture. I have been critical of education as education, because, in looking at the child in isolation, this promotes a view of personal development, as do many of the supportive theories of 'invisible pedagogies' - see Bernstein, 1975 - which is a-cultural. In describing the teacher as enabler, I am arguing for forms of teaching and learning which accord with the interactive and evolutionary processes of both personal and cultural development. The use of drama in schools, in the terms which we have established, is a key example of how this might be done. In broad terms, therefore, we would characterise as cultural education that which:

- (1) enabled children to analyse contemporary cultural values and knowledge;
- (2) promoted an historical perspective on these through engaging them with the cultural heritage.

Two further questions now emerge:

- (1) whose culture are we talking about?
- (2) which heritage?

### 8.3.2 Whose culture?

The separation between educational and everyday knowledge results from a process of selection by which some aspects of the social culture are valued over others. So, in the arts, there is a common, though often tacit, distinction among educators and critics alike, between culture and Culture (Wishart, 1977): the latter corresponding, in Williams's terms, to the 'ideal' definition. In arts education, therefore, there is often a distinction made, sometimes a dichotomy, between 'high' and 'popular' art.<sup>30</sup> The Rt. Hon. Kenneth Robinson illustrates the dangers in this in asserting that:

'..... some would argue that the emphasis in schools should be on participation. This certainly can be valuable and even therapeutic for children. But I cannot see it as a substitute for exposure to, and experience of, what one must perhaps term 'high art'.

(Op Cit., p5)

Children doing the arts themselves is seen here, from an educational point of view, as of less importance than their learning to appreciate the work of others. The notion of cultural reproduction which is implicit in this was made explicit in Lord Eccles's address, as Paymaster General with responsibility for the Arts, to the Northern Arts Association. Arguing for closer cooperation between Adult Education, schools, libraries and museums in the teaching of the arts, his hope was that:

'..... for the first time in our history we should be sending civilisation's highest



values right through the land, like wine through water'.

(Eccles: 1971,p3)

In a rare way, this makes clear the paternalism which often underlies the notion of cultural reproduction.<sup>31</sup> As Martin Lister comments on teaching visual arts:

'..... the social worlds of a great many secondary school pupils are necessarily different from those of the individuals and communities in which these practices and ideas have their roots and development. They do not meet their interests and needs - they do not help them to see the world or to organise their experience of it'.

( Lister: 1978, p8)

This does not mean disregarding traditional works of art in favour of a remorseless pre-occupation with 'pop' culture. That would simply maintain the dichotomy.<sup>32</sup> The point is to recognise that all education takes place in a cultural context; that children in the school bear the culture of their society in the form of sub-cultures, and impute to the phenomena they encounter, sub-cultural meanings (Levitas: 1974). This includes schools and teachers. Equally, teachers themselves bear,

'..... a sub-cultural orientation to the overall pattern of the culture'.

(Levitas: Op Cit., p12)

These sets of cultural orientation may well, as Willis (1977) has argued, be out of joint. The processes of negotiation, exemplified in dramatic activity, can provide opportunities for the teacher and the pupils to adopt an attitude of enquiry towards these cultural differences.

At all events education must recognise this pre-eminent need for children to understand and criticise the cultural influences which bear on them most directly.

### 8.3.3 Which heritage?

This formulation includes the need to bring children into contact with traditional works of art and to help them to understand artistic traditions. The persistent problem with the notion of the heritage, however, is in its being construed as a body of universally acclaimed work whose values are absolute and whose membership is permanent. The evolutionary nature of social culture has important implications here. Part of the value in bringing children into contact with cultural traditions is to encourage a cultural perspective; but such perspectives are constantly open to revisions and contemporary re-valuations.

Williams has pointed to three levels in the general definition of culture:

'..... there is the lived culture of a particular time and place, only fully accessible to those living in that time and place. There is the recorded culture of every kind from art to the most everyday facts:

the culture  
of a period. There is  
also, as the factor con-  
necting lived and period  
cultures, the culture of  
the selective tradition'.

(Williams: 1971, p66)

We live in a perpetual present tense. Our know-  
ledge of other periods can never match their  
intricate complexities as they were experienced at  
the time. Our knowledge of them is both partial  
and highly selective.<sup>33</sup> This process of selection  
rejects considerable portions of what were once  
living cultures. This is governed by many  
interests including class interests.

In the analysis of contemporary culture the opera-  
tion of the selective tradition is of considerable  
importance, for it is often the case that:

'..... some change in  
this tradition, establish-  
ing new lines with the  
past, breaking or re-draw-  
ing lines, is a radical  
kind of contemporary  
change'.

(Ibid., p69)

Our understanding of the past is thus, in signifi-  
cant ways, a contemporary interpretation of it  
which comprises,

'..... a continual  
selection and re-  
selection of ancestors'.

(Ibid., p69)

#### 8.3.4 Diversity, relativity and change

Against this background we can characterise as a cultural education one which seeks to take account of the diversity of cultures, of their evolutionary patterns of growth and of the restlessness of their traditions. As one which:

- (1) helps children to understand cultural diversity, by bringing them into contact with ideologies which vary from their own;
- (2) emphasises cultural relativity<sup>34</sup>, by helping them to clarify and compare their own and other values and attitudes;
- (3) alerts them to the evolutionary nature of culture and the processes of change;
- (4) promotes a cultural perspective, by relating contemporary ideologies to the historical circumstances and developments from which they have emerged.

Drama and the other arts have important roles in this in terms of both participation and appreciation. They are significant that is, both as parts of the social culture, and as ways in which the culture can be mediated in schools.

#### 8.4 Participation

The notion of education through drama, rather than simply about it, implies children using the processes and forms of drama to create and explore ideas and situations; and to criticise and evaluate their own responses to them. A major value of this is in giving their voices and ideas status: in enabling children to see themselves as

meaning-givers rather than just as meaning-takers.

Friere has indicated the more general significance of this. We noted in Chapter Two : 6.2 that an historical epoch is marked by characteristic themes and concerns. Friere concludes:

'..... Whether or not men can perceive the epochal themes and above all how they act upon the reality within which these themes are generated will largely determine their humanisation or dehumanisation, their affirmation as subjects or their reduction as objects. For only as men grasp the themes can they intervene in reality instead of remaining merely onlookers'.

(Op Cit., p5)

The full value of participatory activities in the arts is not simply in providing opportunities for the expression of personal ideas but to confirm by practice that children are also active and creative participants in the social culture.

### 8.5 Appreciation

Works of art are among the features of the social culture which, in making sense of it, children need to experience and understand. The arts have particular significance because of their unique concerns with questions of perception and of understanding.

Appreciation of works of art is often taught, however, as if art were a system and coming to understand it were comparable to cracking a code; or as though the meaning of a work could be revealed through dissection, like the cause of death in a post-mortem. We have noted (Chapter Six : 15.5) that we invest our own meanings in works of art. This now needs to be qualified.

If art is influenced by cultural assumptions and by conventional forms of expression, so too are our perceptions of it.

Some aesthetic theories hold that art exists, and must be appreciated for its own sake. Collinson (1973) argues, for example, that aesthetic contemplation,

'..... requires that we regard what is before us as a self-contained and self-validating entity: that we do not regard it within a shaft of consciousness that holds an awareness of history that invites comparisons ..... the scope of this attention cannot contain simultaneously a rationally conjectural account of the past and aesthetic awareness of the work of art'.

(Op Cit., p203)

There are two points here. First, there is no necessary problem or contradiction in attending to a work of art in different ways at the same time. We may have different aspects of the work as simultaneous objects of focal and subsidiary awareness. Indeed, our contextual knowledge of the work, of which we are subsidiarily aware, may enhance our focal attention and response to its unique form.

Second, to understand it fully, the work must be seen in a cultural context. Collinson argues, however, that by linking the work with incidents in the artist's past, or in one's own, we place it in a relationship of dependence with historical events,

'..... that is irrelevant to its aesthetic significance'.

(Ibid., p203)

The danger in such an analysis is in claiming for one's own judgement what Wishart (1973) calls 'some transcendent objectivity'. In divorcing the work from its cultural setting and its meanings to real people at particular places and times, the critic tries to avoid admitting that he is discussing what the work means to him, as an intellectual, in this culture, at this time.

It is difficult to see how we can appreciate the work without making the comparisons which Collinson disallows.

As Lister puts it, a concept of art which leads us to assert that:

'..... an Impressionist painting seen in the National Gallery by a fifteen year old working-class girl from Hackney is the same object as that ..... seen by a Parisian critic at the first Impressionist exhibition in 1874 is virtually meaningless. The fact that its physical constitution ..... may be more or less the same (does not) say very much'.

(Op Cit., p14)

Part of the teacher's role here is to promote children's appreciation of works of art by increasing their understanding of cultural forms and prevailing ideologies, within which they were fashioned, and of the influences upon them. In the process, the children's own interpretations may reveal meanings, relative to their own cultural circumstances, which were not intended by the artist.

In these ways the process of understanding works of art - traditional and contemporary - can provide both the fuel and ignition for the children's own further work and development. In this analysis, art is not important for

its own sake. It is only important if it serves a purpose. And its major purposes, as with its meanings, are social.

## 9 A drama of ideas

It is ironic that during the 1950's and 1960's, as teachers were being encouraged to move away from theatre and plays, many theatre workers were taking an interest in education. As drama teachers began to look at the individual in abstraction from the social culture, key writers and directors were becoming more committed to social, educational and political themes.<sup>35</sup>

Given the growing influence of the mass media, many theatre practitioners were being obliged to reconsider what the contemporary functions of theatre were. In 1959, The Royal Court was the venue for a conference entitled Theatre Alive or Dead? During the day, writers such as Wesker and Jellicoe emphasised the social functions of theatre and the need for a political commitment. Wesker commented:

'..... I must be concerned with political issues. Nobody can do or say anything that doesn't employ a value. No writer can write anything that doesn't mean something. He can't write about nothing. What I'm writing has to be what I feel. What I am. I'm a Socialist. I write about human beings and the world in the light of my understanding as a Socialist.'<sup>36</sup>

These cultural and political commitments have been emphasised more recently by Edward Bond. Asking artists to keep politics out of art says Bond,

'..... is as sensible as asking men to keep politics out of society. Men without politics would be animals and art without politics would be trivial'.<sup>37</sup>



The work of Brecht has had a seminal influence on the development of such thinking within the theatre in Britain, particularly since the London season in 1956 of the Berliner Ensemble. Brecht was concerned with moving from the forms, conventions and pre-occupations of 'dramatic' theatre to the more consciously critical forms of 'epic' theatre. He provided a tabular summary of what this involves. This in turn provides us with an apt summary of some of the changes in emphasis which are involved in relating the uses of drama in schools to the broader context of cultural education. These are not antitheses but changes of accent.

### Dramatic and epic theatre

#### Dramatic Theatre

#### Epic Theatre

#### Plot

implicates the spectator in a stage situation

wears down his capacity for action

provides him with sensations experience

the spectator is involved in something

suggestion

instinctive feelings are preserved

the spectator is in the thick of it, shares the experience

the human being is taken for granted

he is unalterable

eyes on the finish

#### Narrative

turns the spectator into an observer, but

arouses his capacity for action

forces him to take decisions

picture of the world

he is made to face something

argument

brought to the point of recognition

the spectator stands outside, studies

the human being is the object of enquiry

he is alterable & able to alter

eyes on the course

Dramatic Theatre

one scene makes another  
 growth  
 linear development  
 evolutionary determinism  
 man as a fixed point  
 thought determines being  
 feeling

Epic Theatre

each scene for itself  
 montage  
 in curves  
 jumps  
 man as a process  
 social being determines  
 thought  
 reason

(Brecht: 1930, p37)

Brecht (1949) has commented that an effective technique of alienation is one which allows us to recognise the subject matter of a drama but which makes it appear unfamiliar. As Bond (1977) has put it, alienation is not the removal of a feeling but the adding of a commentary. This is the critical dimension of both drama and of theatre in moral and cultural education.

10 Summary

In this Chapter I have discussed the implications of the theoretical analysis for the real roles of the teacher, and I have considered each of these in turn. I have drawn a parallel between these roles and those of the playwright and director and have related this to the education of the emotions through drama, and to moral education.

I have extended the argument to place drama in the more general context of cultural education and I have discussed the key features of this. I have concluded by indicating the parallels between these roles and functions of drama and the growing recognition of the social functions of theatre. In the final chapter I want to consider some of the issues this raises for the future of drama in the secondary school curriculum.

## CHAPTER NINE

### DRAMA AND THE CURRICULUM

#### 1 Reasons for the chapter

- (1) To discuss the implications of this analysis for the development of drama in the curriculum.
- (2) To identify the problems and constraints in this.
- (3) To relate these to more general problems of curriculum change.
- (4) To discuss a strategy.

#### 2 Praxis

In this final chapter, I want to discuss the practical implications of this analysis for drama in the curriculum. In Chapter One I described three main phases in the development of drama in schools, including its growth as a specialism and the mounting pressures of accountability. Part of the purpose of this study has been to discover how widespread this specialisation of drama has been in secondary schools, and the sorts of curriculum provision to which it has led. The argument I will present here has been considerably influenced by the results of this survey - given in Appendix One - including that of teachers' attitudes to curriculum issues, and is set against that background. In this Chapter, I will describe the main pattern of provision for drama in schools and identify the problems which teachers see in this. I will then look at more general problems - many of which are to do with attitudes rather than resources - in changing the curriculum, bearing in mind the demands of accountability. There is a political dimension to curriculum planning which the debate on accountability has made explicit. Schools are

being reminded that they exist to serve many interests and not just those of educators.

To take account of these other interests, schools need to explore new approaches to curriculum planning and evaluation. I will argue against the use of examinations to bring about such changes. The key to these alternative responses to accountability lies in extending the principles we have discussed, in relation to drama, into a consideration of the curriculum process as a whole.

First, I want to clarify the use I will be making of the term 'curriculum'.

### 3 Curriculum and culture

In what follows I will be using the term 'curriculum' in Lawton's (1975) sense as a 'selection from the culture of a society'. As Lawton puts it:

'..... Certain aspects of our way of life, certain kinds of knowledge, certain attitudes and values are regarded as so important that their transmission to the next generation is not left to chance in our society but is entrusted to specially trained professionals - teachers - in elaborate and expensive institutions - schools'.

(Lawton: 1975, p6-7)

I have already raised some objections to the notion of transmission. Nevertheless, schools clearly do have a role in transmitting some aspects of the culture. We will return to this below. Lawton elaborates this cultural view of the curriculum from Kerr's (1968) description of it as:

'..... All the learning which is planned or guided by the school whether it is

carried on in groups or individually,  
inside or outside the school'.

(Kerr: 1968, p16)

This emphasises that the messages of education are not just those of formal teaching but lie also in the structures of educational experience; in the ambience of the teaching and in the so-called 'hidden curriculum'. In all aspects, the school sanctions certain experiences and not others. This legitimation and illegitimation of experience is what comprises the totality of education for the child - his/her curriculum. In this way teachers, whether they realise it or not, do much more than transmit knowledge. They select from and mediate culture for children, and, in doing so, they make valuations of it (Reynolds and Skilbeck: 1976, p17).

The school curriculum is both an element of the social culture as well as being a cultural process in itself. Different schools and different teachers may make different kinds of selection from the culture and may have different priorities. But all schools have priorities, tacit or otherwise, and all are selective. The ways in which they arrive at and implement these priorities constitutes curriculum planning (Lawton: 1975).

We will need to develop each of these points as we go on. What then are the dominant patterns of provision for drama in the secondary school curriculum, and what problems do teachers see in this?

#### 4 Drama in the curriculum: practical constraints

##### 4.1 Time

Where drama is included in the formal curriculum, it is usually compulsory in years 1 and 2 and an option thereafter. Compulsory drama normally takes up one or two periods per week - 40-80 minutes - with whole class groups

of 25 - 30 pupils. Optional drama usually has 3 to 4 periods - 120-160 minutes - with smaller groups (see Appendix One : 1.4.2).

The tendency is for drama to be included in the timetable as a subject alongside History, Geography and the rest, with each child having regular, though short, experiences of each. Such curricula present difficulties for all 'subjects'. Two of these apply particularly to drama: those of development and of continuity.

We have discussed the social aspects of drama and the need for certain pre-requisite attitudes, often requiring some form of 'warm-up'. In all cases the process of negotiation in drama requires a collective involvement with, and careful consideration of, the issues at hand. The short period can severely limit opportunities to achieve this. Especially where children are unused to drama the bulk of the lesson can be taken up with preparing for drama work which cannot be satisfactorily developed within the lesson.

The week-long gaps between lessons also make it difficult to sustain work from one lesson to the next. The interest which may be roused during one session can fade during the week, so that work becomes fragmented and progress is stalled.

#### 4.2 Facilities

Details are given in Appendix One : 5 of the provision of facilities for drama. Most teachers agree that the principal need is for adequate space. There are three reasons for this. First, drama involves movement and practical group activity. Where it takes place in conventional classrooms, desks etc. must be cleared and this can substantially reduce the amount of time which is available in the lesson itself for these activities.<sup>1</sup>

Second, the activities of drama require an atmosphere of concentration free from interruption and inhibition.<sup>2</sup> Third, the lack of a designated space can detract from the quality of the work. The association of specific forms of work with particular spaces and atmospheres is well recognised in science teaching. It applies equally in the arts.

Although technical facilities - lighting, rostra blocks, sound equipment - are rarely considered essential to drama, they can help to improve the quality of what is done. These are often, and perhaps increasingly, in short supply. (Appendix One : 5:2).

#### 4.3 Specialists<sup>3</sup>

Where there are drama specialists in a school, one is usual, two common, three or four exceptional. More than four is a rarity occurring, so far as I know, without exception, only in new or recently re-organised comprehensives. There are, overall, fewer drama specialists in the sample school in comparison with Music and the visual arts. Dance specialists are less common than drama specialists.<sup>4</sup> Drama teachers generally feel that too few specialists are employed and that this results in a timetable which is too demanding. Drama lessons call on considerable resources in the teacher. The constant succession of large groups for short periods can result, they argue, in routinised and poorer work than if more staff were available. Teachers often see these problems deriving from the low status of drama in schools.

#### 4.4 Status

The status of any curriculum activity is not based on its intrinsic value alone, but on how its value is judged by teachers, parents, employers and by pupils, in relation to the rest of the curriculum. There are a number of

indicators of this, including the amount of time allocated to it and whether, and for how long, it is compulsory. Appendix One : 4 provides some information here. Status, in strongly classified curricula, is mainly related to subject-matter, and to the skills with which it is associated (Bernstein: 1971). Four factors bear on the status of drama.

First, drama teachers, in keeping with liberal and progressive ideologies, have stressed the value of drama either as an end in itself, or as a way of developing very general social skills. The competition for resources, and the pressures of accountability, tend to favour activities which do have clear ends in view; and particularly those which result in vocational qualifications. Second, the reluctance of teachers to examine drama often makes it unavailable to pupils beyond the third year. For this reason, and also because of the emphasis on self-expression and the emotions, drama is often associated with the 'less able' or with remedial teaching. On both counts it appears to lie outside the concerns of the 'mainstream' academic curriculum. Third, the curriculum continues to be organised around 'states of knowledge' (Bernstein: 1971), rather than on 'ways of knowing'. The failure of drama teachers to lay claim to a specific body of knowledge, in the name of self-expression, or, indeed, in the terms of our present analysis may also lead to low status for what they do. Fourth, the arts in general are not a high priority for resources outside schools. This is paralleled within them.

Each of these factors can help to create a 'cycle of constraint' (McGregor, L. Tate, M. and Robinson, K : 1977) on drama in the curriculum. Where drama is inadequately provided for in the timetable few children benefit from



the work as fully as they might. As a result, few staff or parents see the full value of the work. Consequently drama is poorly provided for on the timetable (See Figure 4).

Some drama teachers see the introduction of examinations in drama as the only way to break this cycle. I will argue later that this provides no real solution. For, as these observations on status indicate, the primary problems for drama in the curriculum are not to do with resources at all, but with attitudes.

## 5 Drama in the curriculum: ideological constraints

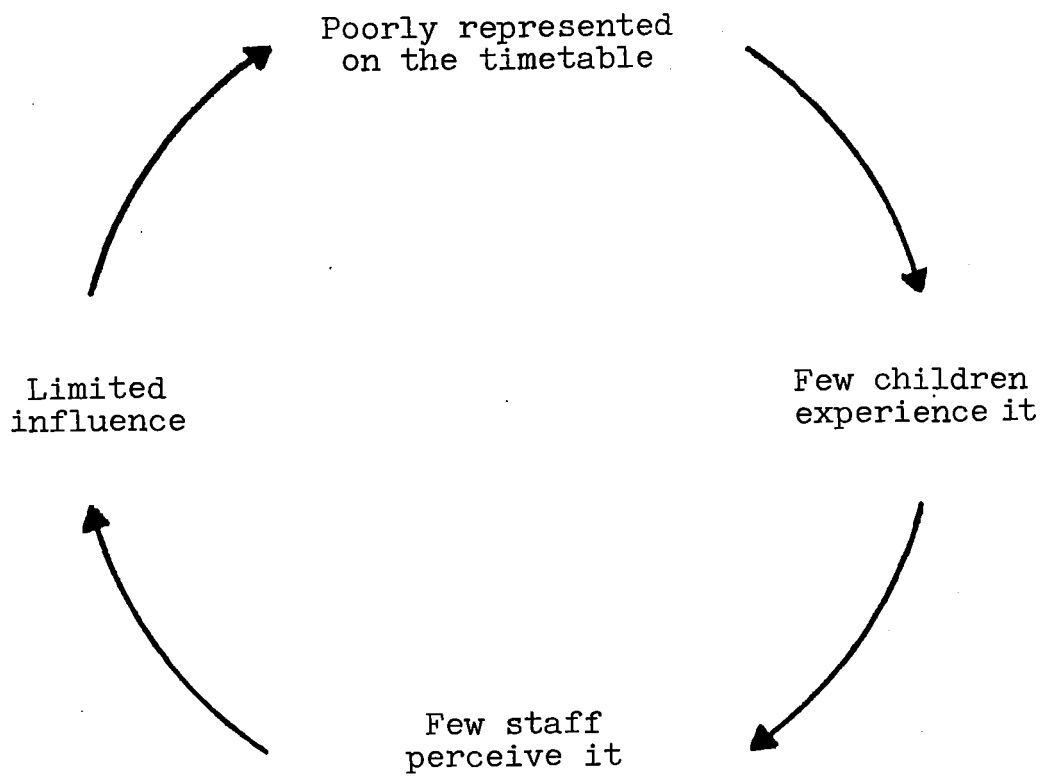
### 5.1 Education as conservation

Institutions exist to make formal the evolved and imposed patterns of social relations and modes of organisation. To this extent, they are inherently conservative. The institutional functions of schools in this respect are clear enough:

'..... The school is required to perpetuate and transmit ..... the culture handed down to it by the intellectual creators of the past ..... Further, it is obliged to establish and define systematically the sphere of orthodox and the sphere of heretical culture'.

(Bourdieu: 1971a, p178)

The school, qua institution, derives a number of structural and functional characteristics from the fact, that it has to fulfil these functions. Any attempt to introduce pedagogical or curriculum change in the school must contend, therefore, with the normative routines and traditions which are implicit in the logic of the institution itself. For a critique of the curriculum is a critique of the social and epistemological

Figure 4A cycle of constraint

orthodoxies with which it is entrusted. Changing the curriculum is much more, therefore, than a question of logistics.

## 5.2 Professional identities

The institutional restraints are strengthened by the professionalisation of education, by which specific roles are strongly identified with particular functions of the institution. Drama represents an integrated knowledge code - this leads to problems in itself. Such codes and their association with progressive teaching styles have made furthest inroads into primary education. They have made relatively little progress in secondary schools, except in the early years (see Chapter One). One reason for this is the different professional structures of the two sectors: the one being teacher-based and the other teachers-based, (Bernstein: 1971). Secondary teachers are employed to teach subjects rather than children. Their professional identities are strongly rooted in the institutional and strongly-classified forms of educational knowledge.<sup>5</sup> Attempts to change codes or to mix categories may be seen as a threat to these identities. Accordingly,

'..... Critical problems arise with the question of new forms as to their legitimacy, at what point they belong, when, where and by whom they should be taught ..... Such new forms or weakened classifications can be regarded as attempts to break or weaken existing monopolies'.

(Bernstein: 1971, p56)

New methods of teaching may be accommodated relatively easily in secondary schools, provided the boundaries of existing subjects and professional identities are not breached. New or extra 'subjects' may be accepted under

the same conditions. Attempts to change classifications may be resisted due to the interplay of cultural and professional orthodoxies, for this raises questions of demarcation - of property relations - and thus of the distribution of educational power. The strength of resistance is a function of the strengths and traditions of the existing power structures in the school:

'..... Just as in prison, the introduction of a new therapeutic ideology may meet resistance in the authoritarianism of the older guards, leading to antagonism, attempted blockage and the necessity of strategic replacements ..... so in a school curriculum innovation may sit rather incongruously against the subject-centres 'telling' orientation of the older teachers'.

(Davies, W B:1970 quoted in McGregor, L: 1975, p55)

It would be misleading, however, to picture drama specialists as a universally enlightened group in conflict with a sclerotic system of hardened educational categories. This is not because there is no sclerosis, but because drama teachers, in their own drive towards further specialisation, are, to some extent, part of it.

### 5.3 The world of the specialist

Many drama teachers have long recognised that they are not dealing with a subject in the conventional sense. The problems in the curriculum arise when they seek to provide for it as if they were. Despite the curriculum development movements of the last twenty years, the notion of 'subjects' is deeply ingrained in educational ideologies.<sup>6</sup> In Chapter Five : 7 I outlined von Uexküll's notion of Umwelt. This suggests the dominance of certain points of reference in construing the meaning of events. A key problem with subject specialisation is

that teachers tend to develop their own Umwelt within which curriculum problems appear as peculiar problems of drama, of music, of history, rather than as general and common problems of the whole curriculum. Attempts to change the curriculum thus become chauvinistic: e.g. more time for drama at the expense of music.<sup>7</sup> This tends to compound the problems of innovation by increasing the competition for resources. One of the features of this specialisation is a strong sense of territory, and often of isolation, which divides one department and one institution from another.

#### 5.4 Territorialism and isolation

First there is a horizontal division: teachers in different departments in the same school having very little contact with each other. This minimises opportunities to identify and address common problems. Second, there is a vertical isolation between the three main sectors of formal education: primary, secondary and tertiary.<sup>8</sup>

Third, there is the isolation of teachers from other practitioners in their own art form. Ross (1975) sees the lack of opportunities for teachers to develop their own skills, and to keep in touch with contemporary developments in their own art form, as a major drain on their morale and professional resources.<sup>9</sup>

Fourth, there is a general lack of contact between teachers working in different regions. The need to exchange experiences and strategies becomes even more important for teachers when they are under external pressures. As it is, few of them ever see other teachers at work or come into contact with projects and schemes operating elsewhere. The result of all of this is a sense of working alone which can be profoundly demoralising.

## 6 Theory and practice

Curriculum change is further hampered by the general division between theory and practice.<sup>10</sup> This is partly due to a general pragmatism among teachers. It is also because of the territorialism of researchers and academics who tend to address their findings to their own professional groups. Teachers who are interested in theory and research have considerable difficulties in finding what is relevant to their own work. As a result, there tends to be a one-way traffic in theory and research, with little feeding back in useable forms into the classroom.

As we saw in Chapter Seven, for example, a good deal of research is now arguing for general approaches to educational evaluation which are particularly supportive of the progressive practices of arts teachers. Too often, teachers are unaware of this and continue trying to legitimate their work in ways which they recognise to be inappropriate. As Reynolds and Skilbeck argue, we should be looking for ways to bring theory and practice into a 'reciprocal interplay':

'..... ideas modifying our perceptions of the practicalities of teaching: curriculum action and outcomes modifying our use of ideas'.

(Reynolds and Skilbeck: 1976, p19)

This is too rarely the case in schools. Some of these issues have been created and others compounded by the pressures of accountability.

## 7 Accountability

### 7.1 The demands of accountability

The basic demands of accountability are fair and reasonable (See Chapter One : 5.3). They are for:

- (1) adequate teaching of certain skills to be guaranteed;
- (2) continued improvements in the general standards of education;
- (3) adequate information about pupils' actual achievements and personal potential.

Fair as these may seem in principle, the practice of accountability remains problematic, not least because it bears on delicate questions of power and responsibility in education.

## 7.2 Power and responsibility

Teachers do not have sovereign control of the curriculum (Lawton: 1978). Nevertheless, the public debate on the curriculum showed a concern that the power they do have is excessive. The furore over William Tyndale, for example, revealed fears that the diversity of teaching styles and of progressivism, in particular, was leading to cultural fragmentation and even to subversion.<sup>11</sup>

Teachers reacted strongly in the wake of Tyndale against what they saw as an attack on their professional integrity, and this has grown during the debate on the core curriculum. Yet parents and employers do have legitimate, if different interests, in what schools do.

There are two dangers in giving way too far to external pressures, however. First, the widespread cultural changes in British society have not originated in the schools, even if schools are implicated in them as part of the social culture. It is no solution to cultural fragmentation - real or imagined - to fragment the school curriculum further. Schools need to ensure a balanced and coherent curriculum, whatever demands bear on them from outside. Second, both education and evaluation are enmeshed in questions of value. In a complex

society the practice of both must reflect a pluralism of values. The need here is for a balanced distribution of power and responsibility in education and for some means of achieving it.

The dangers for the curriculum as a whole, and for the arts within it, lie in three common assumptions, and in the conclusion they suggest that the demands of accountability are best met through increasing the pressures of examinations. This can subvert the requirement for pluralism in education.

### 7.3 Three misconceptions

#### 7.3.1 The academic illusion

There is an assumption in British education that different curricula need to be provided for different children according to various aptitudes.<sup>12</sup>

This has had a central influence in the growth of secondary education. Both the Spens (1938) and the Norwood (1943) Reports saw the need to distinguish children according to certain abilities, and to provide 'practical' or 'academic' courses accordingly. This was a tenet of the 1944 Act itself in providing for three types of pupil in three types of school: grammar, modern and technical. Although the widespread developments in the theory and practice of education since then have done much to modify this view, there are a number of lingering consequences of it.

In practice the tri-partite system became bi-partite. Technical schools were not established on a wide scale. Moreover, selection at 11-plus meant either 'passing' to the grammar school or failing to the secondary modern (see Chapter Two : 6.3.1). Despite the principle of 'parity of



esteem', successful children have been persistently associated with an academic curriculum and the 'less able' with practical courses. This reflects what James Hemmings has called 'the academic illusion' - the idea that,

'..... the supreme role of education is the development of the logical, intellectual, analytic aspects of mind and that other aspects - the social, perceptive, affective, practical, intuitive, aesthetic, imaginative and creative aspects - are of minor importance'.

(Hemmings: 1978, p20)

Although many attempts have been made to accommodate the 'non-academic' child, these have tended to be seen as remedial and thus reinforce the distinction.<sup>14</sup> This equation of 'true' education with the academic curriculum, and of that with a gifted minority, is one of the most disabling features of contemporary schools and illustrates a 'totalitarian commitment to academicism' (Logan: 1980) which has far-reaching effects on all attempts at innovation.

The problems in this for drama are in its being associated with the 'less able' and dissociated from the needs of 'bright' children (see Chapter Two : 7.5.2).

### 7.3.2 Education for employment

There is a widespread attitude among many parents, employers, teachers and children, that the principal function of education is to prepare children for employment. This attitude, which dates back at

least to the Utilitarians, creates problems for all arts activities because of the associated distinction between work and non-work. On the one hand those activities which seem most closely related to productive activity are valued above those which are apparently recreational: the one the legitimate province of education, the other not. On the other, when employment prospects are bleak or highly competitive or when, as now, economic stability is threatened, part of the problem is assumed to lie in the schools. As a result vocational and examination pressures on the curriculum intensify. In these terms, the arts are assumed to bear no relation to productive activity and to lie outside mainstream curriculum concerns.<sup>15</sup>

Why, given the need to qualify for higher education or for employment, should children who have no vocational interest in the arts spend time on them during formal education? Is not their real place outside the formal curriculum as leisure or recreation?

### 7.3.3 Objectives and objectivity

We have considered the concern with impersonal standards of judgement within rationalist models of education (Chapter Two : 3.2). There is a broader tendency to adopt this impersonal attitude in the area of educational assessment, by comparing it to monitoring commercial or industrial processes. The new rhetoric of education bears witness to this: 'cost-efficiency'; 'programme-budgeting' and of course 'accountability' itself (MacDonald: Op Cit).

The forms of assessment which best suit this derive from the objectives model and the psychometric procedures which support it. An important feature of

accountability in such forms is that it exerts a downward pressure: academic pressures reach down from the Universities; economic pressures from central and local government onto each stage below until they reach the schools. The schools exert little or no pressure upwards through the system, so that the terms of accountability tend to be pressed from outside the classroom.

Educational power carries the burden of responsibility. Children are legally obliged to spend a great deal of their time at school. If teachers are to shoulder this responsibility, they must have a share in the power. If others want to share in the power they must assume their responsibilities.

Far from achieving a broader base of power and responsibility, such measures tend to narrow it. As the distinguished American evaluator, Ernest House has put it:

'..... I believe that such schemes are simplistic, unworkable, contrary to empirical findings and ultimately immoral. They are likely to lead to suspicion, acrimony, inflexibility and cheating and finally control ..... which I think is their real purpose'.

(House: 1973a,p3)

This is a particular problem for the arts since, as, we saw in Chapter Seven, they do not lend themselves easily to such forms of assessment. Indeed, they challenge the principle of impersonal judgement. In the absence of alternative forms of assessment, the arts in schools can fall victim to what Rowntree (1977) quotes as MacNamara's Fallacy: the tendency

to make the measurable important instead of making the important measurable.<sup>16</sup>

Given how common these assumptions appear to be it may seem expedient for teachers concerned to promote drama to join in with the examination system. This may work directly against their interests.

## 8 The pressures of examinations

### 8.1 Main constraints

It is in the procedures of formal assessment that educational values and priorities are made explicit.<sup>17</sup> In these respects, the influence of public examinations cannot be over-estimated. They are not a benign conclusion to a child's school career but can be a dominating influence upon the whole style of it.<sup>18</sup> Examination pressures can compound the general problems of curriculum change in schools by promoting:

- (1) subject specialisation;
- (2) conservative tendencies - through the emphasis on set syllabuses.

They constrain the arts in particular by promoting.

- (3) the use of pre-determined objectives as the principal basis for assessment;
- (4) an emphasis on product rather than process;
- (5) academic values.

Many forms of examination are also antipathetic to the practice of the arts in school in two further respects:

- (6) they are competitive;
- (7) they involve a high level of failure.

## 8.2 Passing

Much formal assessment in schools, and most examinations, are norm-referenced. They seek to establish not absolute but relative achievement, by locating children at points along a pre-specified ability range.<sup>19</sup>

Children are commonly given grades from A to E with C as the 'average'. The graph of results is expected to etch a bell-shaped curve with the majority clustered around the middle range and a minority of high and low scores at either end. A key feature of norm-referencing is that if a pupil improves over a year by 100% and if everyone in the group shows a similar improvement, his/her grade will be no better than before. To get a better grade

'..... he must take it from one of the students above him by outperforming him'.

(Rowntree: 1977, p54)

Bloom has pointed to the self-fulfilling prophecy in the giving of such grades. Teachers begin courses with the expectation that about a third of the pupils will adequately learn what they have to teach: about a third will fail or just get by. A further third are expected to learn a good deal. This set of expectations,

'..... supported by school policies and practices in grading, becomes transmitted to students through the grading procedures and ..... creates a self-fulfilling prophecy such that the final sorting of students ..... becomes approximately equivalent to the original expectations'.

(Bloom: 1971, p17)

For Bloom, this is the most destructive and wasteful aspect of the current system in that it reduces motivation for learning and,

'..... systematically destroys the ego and self-concept of a sizable group of students who are legally required to attend school'.

(Ibid., pl7)

One of the ways in which this occurs is through the element and prospect of failure.

### 8.3 Failing

If all students were to be given 'A's there might be talk of falling standards. For norm-referencing to maintain credibility, there must be a percentage of failure. One of the, albeit unwitting, ways in which this is ensured is through all pupils taking public examinations at the same time, usually as the climax to a course. This is usually determined by age. But all that we know about intellectual, emotional and physical development confirms that children mature at different rates, even if their potential is the same. The setting of examinations by age ignores these differences and assumes, moreover, that on the same day, at the same time, irrespective of personal circumstances, children will all perform to the best of their abilities. On this basis they are told whether they are successes or failures, relatively speaking.

Naturally some children do well and these may be quoted in defence of the system. But how do we take stock of the potential of those who have prematurely failed?

There is a specific difficulty here for drama examinations. Such courses often claim to develop individuality

and to promote such personal qualities as sensitivity and self-awareness (see Appendix One : 8 ). What are the implications for children who fail these examinations? Are they below average individuals? And how is sensitivity to be graded? In reference to what?<sup>20</sup>

Failing children is not, of course, the primary aim of public examinations. It is, nevertheless, enshrined in the principle of norm-referencing and in the allocation of relative marks. Some children are driven to work harder by this. Others disparage the whole affair and become openly hostile to learning (Willis: 1978). However, much as they may recognise these difficulties, many teachers have still chosen to introduce examinations in drama. Why?

#### 8.4 Reasons to examine?

The reasons given by teachers in the survey for examining drama divided into three main groups: (1) vocational; (2) motivational; (3) political.

##### (1) Vocational

Schools should prepare children for life in the adult world and should give them usable skills and the evidence that they have them. In a highly competitive market for jobs and for higher education, children need to be as well-qualified as possible. Examinations give vocational support.

##### (2) Motivational

Children on examination courses work harder and with more commitment than those who are not. The competitive edge increases motivation.

##### (3) Political

Non-examination work is at a disadvantage in the competition for time and resources, particularly in

the upper years of secondary education. Consequently the numbers of children taking drama plummet after the second or third year. An examination can attract time, resources, prestige and pupils. It can provide a political lever to raise the general status of the work.

These are persuasive arguments. How sound are they?

## 9 A new situation

### 9.1 Youth unemployment

Compulsory mass education, and the apparatus we now have to enact it, evolved on the assumption of an expanding labour market. This can no longer be assumed. Young people leaving school are now facing social and economic circumstances for which there are no historical precedents.

Unemployment levels are now historically high for all age groups but especially among young people.<sup>21</sup> The causes of this are economic rather than educational. These are not temporary symptoms of a passing recession, but the result of structural changes in western economies (See Introduction: Note 10). It is not so much lack of qualifications that prevents young people finding jobs - it is lack of jobs. Examinations have a mainly symbolic value, as a negotiating currency in the labour market. Like all paper currencies, they are prone to inflation when too much currency chases too few commodities. As the labour market contracts, the intensified race for qualifications is creating an 'academic inflation' in which more and more count for less and less. This may benefit a highly-qualified minority. The majority will be faced with a market in which they have virtually no spending power at all. How will they have benefited? The continuing cut-backs in higher education<sup>22</sup> confirm



that the use of examinations to secure the future of young people is an illusion.

### 9.2 Selective options

Examination courses in the arts are also invariably optional. De facto they are selective. There are many reasons why children will not opt for them. They may not want or be allowed to; they may not see them as useful; they may feel unable to cope with them; other options may conflict. Those who do opt for them are likely to be highly motivated in any case.<sup>23</sup> It is difficult to see how concentrating resources on these groups alone is the answer to motivating and providing for the majority who do not take the examination. And it is with the majority of children that we have been concerned throughout.

### 9.3 A broader problem

None of this amounts to an argument that aspects of drama neither can be nor should be examined (see below 12.2). It does question whether examinations will legitimate the work. For the broader problem is not that the arts are not fully examined. It is that, for the reasons which we have discussed, the developments and interests with which the arts, qua arts, are associated are neither fully understood nor valued in schools - examined or not. The real task is to promote this understanding. It seems unlikely that the kinds of provision which teachers seek will be forthcoming otherwise.

## 10 Developing a strategy for change

Given the various practical and ideological constraints, what kind of strategy is required for the development of drama in the curriculum? A number of points emerge from this discussion. First, the problems which drama teachers see themselves facing are not unique or peculiar to drama. They are common

problems of curriculum innovation and arise from cultural, institutional, and professional pressures.

Second, drama and other arts activities do challenge existing academic, instrumental and objectivist assumptions about the purposes of education. This should be taken into account. Third, these existing problems can be compounded by teachers themselves adopting territorial attitudes to their own specialism, and by their seeking to legitimate the arts in terms which do not apply. The arts represent a broader view of education and of personal capabilities than the purely academic. This should be recognised in attempts to assess and evaluate work and achievement in these areas. Although examinations may provide a short term solution to the problem of status, our arguments suggest they will provide no useful strategy for change and development in the long term.

These considerations suggest a number of steps in deriving such a strategy.

- (1) To identify specifically the kinds of change which are sought in the curriculum.
- (2) To seek to understand the ideology of the school and of other staff so as to identify the particular obstacles which obtain.
- (3) To recognise other interests and to see curriculum planning as a collective task involving staff and other interested groups including parents and employers.
- (4) To recognise the need for the interaction of interests and the exchange of information and ideas to achieve this.

Education takes place in a cultural context. The current rate of cultural changes calls for continuing processes of evaluation and revaluation of the curriculum and its relation to the broader community. Just as the arts are themselves ways of evaluating the social culture, so the principles and concepts which we have analysed in relation to them are relevant to the processes of curriculum change and evaluation in general. These are the notions of:

- (1) process;
- (2) values;
- (3) pluralism;
- (4) evolution;
- (5) interaction.

The general need is to see the curriculum itself as a cultural process.

## 11 Responsive schools

### 11.1 The curriculum as process

Institutions such as schools are not things. They are patterns of organisation and of relationships and exist only as these are enacted. The notion of process implies a reciprocal relationship of elements: that each part is in some respects in every other (see Chapter Six : 6.2). Thompson (1968) in his analysis of social history, and especially of class relations, argues that the various elements of the social culture cannot be understood, if they are looked at as separate and isolated 'things'. This is precisely the danger in the institutionalisation of education when knowledge and experience are reified into 'subjects' and the relationships between them are stilled.<sup>24</sup>

We have discussed the interactive and evolutionary nature of the social culture. As an element of that culture,

the school must recognise these features and maintain a flexibility and an openness to change. The school timetable may be written down. The curriculum takes place as a process of actions.<sup>25</sup> In devising a strategy, our analysis suggests four basic needs.

#### 11.2 The need for a policy

Few schools have thought out a curriculum policy from first principles (DES, 1981). There are no possible grounds, argues the Schools Council (1975), for assuming that the sum total of objectives of subjects in the curriculum are equal to the total objectives of the whole curriculum. Indeed, where curricula are so enormously fragmented by subjects, it is difficult to see how this could be so. What is needed is,

'..... a framework of principles within which individual teachers, teams or departments can consider how best they might each contribute to the whole curriculum'.

(Schools Council: 1975, p24)

More often, the curriculum is an accretion of unquestioned tradition — superimposed with piecemeal attempts to accommodate innovation. Two factors challenge the wisdom of this:

- (1) the general rate of cultural change;<sup>26</sup>
- (2) the specific variations in the local circumstances of individual schools.<sup>27</sup>

There are two challenges here:

- (1) to balance the need for curriculum stability with the need to respond to change;

- (2) to balance the need for an understanding of general cultural themes with that of the specific cultural communities in which children actually live their lives.<sup>28</sup>

The normative pressures of national assessment procedures can easily override these variations in local need and provision.

Two of the problems with existing subject divisions as a basis for curriculum planning are:

- (1) there are too many of them;
- (2) the logistic problems they entail enforces an institutional rigidity which resists change.

In associating drama with the arts in general, I have argued that it has common elements with Music, Visual Arts, Dance and Literature. We will return to these elements in concluding this study below. Equally those ways of knowing which comprise Science may be argued to extend across its present division into subjects: chemistry, physics and the rest. The principle to which this points is to look beyond existing subject barriers to the forms of logic and procedure which identify the various and related ways of knowing.

Lawton (1975) refers here to 'disciplines' and argues that, to some extent, it is less important that the number and names of these disciplines are agreed than that the value of the principle is recognised. Certainly it lies beyond the scope of this study to embark on a general classification of this kind. We can assert, however, that in so far as the arts have common elements, of function and procedure, it is not a separate policy for

drama which is needed in schools, but a general policy for the arts which relates them to the curriculum as a whole, and in which drama has a part.

### 11.3 The need for specifics

No two schools are the same, however. Although, necessarily, we have been concerned with general questions of restraint and innovation, these will appear differently in different settings. The three schools in which the lessons of Appendix Two took place differed in almost every respect: size; catchment; staff/pupil ratios; facilities and so on. It is only through analysing the specifics of their own situation that teachers can begin to devise practicable strategies for change. In some schools the attitudes of the head teacher and of other

members of staff will be key. Moreover, just as the curriculum policy must respond to different cultural settings, so drama will have varying functions within it. Just as individual factors question the value of prescribing methods of teaching drama, so these curricular factors question the wisdom of prescribing this or that form of provision.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, detailed planning is precisely what is required. When the head teacher asks, 'What is the value of drama in this school?', it is crucial that the question is answered in the same specific terms.

### 11.4 The need for specialists

An adequate curriculum policy must recognise the need for drama to be given time to itself. In common with all arts processes, drama is difficult to use productively and requires considerable skill in the teacher. The arguments against defensive specialisation are not arguments against the need for special training for drama teaching, nor for time to be given to the work in its own right. Enabling children to understand experience in different ways is at the heart of education. Drama, in common with all ways of knowing, can be used across the curriculum, and is not

a teaching monopoly. Nevertheless, the different skills of knowing need to be given their due if they are to be used effectively. All teachers help to develop children's use of language, for example. This does not discount the special role of the English teacher. Equally, specialist teachers in the arts are needed to enable children to use these processes as fully as possible. It does not follow that their use should be restricted elsewhere. It is isolationism and territorialism which need to be overcome in schools, while maintaining the skillful teaching of the various disciplines.

#### 11.5 The need for information

All systems are held together by information. Each of these points is derived from that principle. The difficulties of innovation in schools are compounded by the extent to which the flow of information, within the school and between it and outside agencies is interrupted, blocked or inadequate.<sup>30</sup>

The defensive trends of specialisation exacerbate this. The development of a more comprehensive action of evaluation and assessment, in the terms we will now discuss, would increase the flow of information in forms which report on the complexity of the experiences in question. In doing so, this could begin to promote the interaction, at the levels of both planning and implementation, in which the evolutionary nature of social processes is rooted.

If policies and principles should be co-ordinated, they must also be open to revision in the face of new experience and changing circumstances. Evaluation of the curriculum process and assessment of pupils' attainment are essential to this. In place of the normative and summative assessment procedures which now dominate the

curriculum, this suggests forms of evaluation which are illuminative and responsive and forms of assessment which are pervasive and informative.

## 12 Evaluation, assessment and curriculum development

### 12.1 Illuminative evaluation

The objectives model encourages evaluation of the intended outcomes of pre-specified objectives. Schools and teachers need, however, to understand the actual effects of their teaching on children. This does not deny the need for clear aims and objectives. It recognises that effective teaching often involves changing or abandoning the original objectives once the work begins. It is important that the initial expectations for a course of work or a lesson do not dominate teachers' perceptions of what actually takes place. Evaluation should illuminate all aspects of the work and this includes the aptness of the original objectives.

### 12.2 Responsive evaluation

Evaluation should be responsive to different forms of work and outcome which result from different types of objective. Eisner's distinction between instructional and expressive objectives (see Chapter Seven : 6) suggests comparably different criteria of evaluation. Where clear evidence of immediate outcomes may be produced in the instructional realm, the outcomes of expressive work may be more elusive. Evaluation must be responsive to such differences.

### 12.3 Pervasive assessment

Feedback, encouragement and the steady raising of expectations are key elements in pupils' learning. Regular assessment can provide these. To do so it must be an integral part of teaching and learning rather than a periodic event intruding into the work or appended



to it as a final hurdle. Scriven's distinction between formative and summative assessment (see Chapter Seven . 9) does not refer to the timing of the assessment but to the reason for doing it: on the one hand, to influence the course of the work and, on the other, to reflect on its overall effects. Both imply more general processes than periodic testing and grading, so as to provide constructive support to pupils rather than imposing barriers.

#### 12.4 Informative assessment

If a prime function of assessments is to provide information, they should contain as much of it as possible. There are four further reasons for doubting the value of grades and percentages here:

- (1) Only very limited aspects of attainment are quantifiable and these lie wholly within the instructional realm: information retention, certain skills, of numeracy, literacy etc. These are limited aspects of educational responsibilities and should not be allowed to impose assessment patterns on the whole of them.
- (2) Evaluation and assessment commonly require value-judgements. Such judgements are not made more reliable, clinical or objective by condensing them into a single letter or grade. Doing so can give a misleading impression of finality.
- (3) Education should seek to help children reach the highest levels of which they are capable. Grading children on a relative scale<sup>31</sup> may discourage further effort and also encourage

parents and employers to make misleading comparisons.

- (4) These devices give very little information. Grades act like averages, smoothing out individual differences. A piece of work which has both first-class and very poor features may be given a C. Another piece, consistent throughout, may also get a C. The grade itself says nothing about these variations in performance. Unless accompanied by some verbal comment, the grade also says little to the pupil except to imply a rank in the group. After a long and involved course of work a pupil, asked what he/she got out of it may well say, in all seriousness, as Rowntree (1977) notes, 'I got a B'.

### 13 Implications for accountability

Parents, employers, teachers and pupils, want and need evidence of attainment and experience, and schools need curricula which are responsive to changing circumstances. These are the real issues in accountability not the provision of examinations per se. Approaches to assessment and evaluation along these lines would do more to meet these needs while helping to raise the quality of curriculum work as a whole. What practical forms might this take?

#### 13.1 Profile reporting

Employers and others need to know about pupils' skills, interests and personal qualities. This applies equally to the well qualified - such information is not contained after all in raw numbers of 'O' and 'A' levels - and to those with no formal qualifications. One way of providing this is through profile reporting. This has been part of certification in some courses for some time

and several examination boards, including London and the Joint Matriculation Board, are showing interest in its further development.<sup>32</sup>

Such schemes offer a more sustained and systematic action of evaluation which links formative and summative assessments into the daily process of education. The benefits to those outside the school are in providing more comprehensive and vivid information while reflecting more accurately the complexities of educational experience, and the contributions of various curriculum activities to it.

### 13.2 Criterion referencing

There is a limited case to be made for examinations in the arts. In any school there will be children, in the arts as elsewhere, who have a particular aptitude for, or interest in, for example, learning an instrument or in the theory and history of music, drama or visual arts etc. Where the needs are so specific and the groups so clearly defined, the provision of an examination course is less problematic, provided this is not at the expense of, or as a substitute for, more general provision for the majority whose interests are less specialised. The general objection to grading and norm-referencing still apply, however, and need to be overcome. Experimental projects in criterion referenced tests<sup>33</sup> offer possible solutions to these.

## 14 Changing the curriculum

### 14.1 Institutional skills

The problems of changing the curriculum are increased by the institutional complexity of education. Schools have become increasingly intricate as organisations, incorporating split sites, ability bands, streams, options, vertical and horizontal groupings and the rest. In addition new 'subjects' continue to press for recognition in an already congested curriculum.<sup>34</sup>

Teachers who want to change the curriculum may well feel outfaced by the logistics, especially since professional training, being subject-based, gives little grounding in curriculum theory and planning. Many teachers lack the skills and the confidence to tackle the curriculum problems which they face. Planning the curriculum is the assigned task of yet another specialist.

In addition, the job of curriculum search and innovation has become largely the province of other experts outside the schools: the universities. This extension of specialisation has the effect (Simons: 1978 and Blenkin: 1980) of 'de-skilling' teachers in an area with which they are critically concerned.<sup>35</sup>

Teachers faced with curriculum problems may thus experience a specific version of the alienation of labour, in the separation between planning and implementation. This is expressed,

'..... at least in some of the extreme American versions of detailed course planning, in a contempt for the user. The 'good' package is one which its user - i.e. pupil and teacher - proof'.

(Hogan: 1977, p3)

Nevertheless, as the Schools Council has emphasised, all worthwhile proposals for curriculum change,

'..... are put to the test in classrooms and only come to fruition if the practising teacher has the resources, support, training and self-confidence to implement them'.

(Schools Council: 1975, p11)

As Lawton (1975) puts it, there can be no curriculum development without teacher development. No amount of prescription from outside schools will compensate for a lack of action within them by teachers themselves. If teachers are genuinely concerned with innovation, they need the will and the skill to analyse problems in their own schools and to devise and promote the relevant strategies for change.

Simons (1978) has provided a cogent analysis of some of the practical problems which teachers experience in this with particular regard to operating the methods of process evaluations. Not the least of these is the unfamiliarity of such approaches and the lack of appropriate in-service training programmes to overcome this.

#### 14.2 A broad approach

Underpinning this approach to curriculum change is the notion of the school as a collectivity in which all members have responsibility for the quality of what goes on there. Effecting change within the curriculum has resonances throughout it. Innovation along particular lines is more easily managed, therefore, when the curriculum as a whole is under review. This may account for the larger proportion of specialist drama teachers in comprehensive schools than in older institutions.<sup>36</sup> Cheshire Education is one of a number to be involved, with HMI, in a county-wide process of curriculum review, involving parents and employers with the staff of primary and secondary schools. This is one example of the kind of co-operative action which is necessary and possible.<sup>37</sup>

The Chief Education Officer of Cheshire sees a number of benefits in this. Many of these affect the teachers, for whom this process of self-evaluation and review functions, in part, as a process of in-service training

in the curriculum. This has also helped to identify common purposes in that the approach is based on,

'..... the concept of total staff involvement, the experienced teacher and the younger teacher discussing and analysing together what the school or department intends, the methods adopted and the assessment undertaken'.

(Tomlinson: 1980, p28)

As part of this,

'..... cross-curricular issues such as language learning, compensatory education, for the most and least able ..... the creative and aesthetic experience offered and so on, can be identified and understood and tackled by all staff together'.

(Ibid., p28)

The Cheshire experience has emphasised that the responsibility for education lies not only in the school, but also in the broader community of parents and employers. It is in the community aspects of education, as well as in the internal curriculum of the school, that the development of an arts policy also has value.

#### 14.3 The school and the community

We have noted Bernstein's distinction between educational and everyday knowledge. As Eric Midwinter puts it:

'..... the educational servicing of a multi-various society with a singular system leads to schools which fail to relate to the experience of their pupils and their catchment areas. Often, it would appear, the curriculum is

irrelevant to the community,  
its children and both their  
needs'.

(Midwinter: 1972, p13)

The exact failing of education as transmission or as cultural reproduction is, as Chanan and Gilchrist argue, that it has resulted in a sustained antagonism toward the primary terms in which pupils themselves conceive the world:

'..... The error was not that one form of culture was effectively upheld at the expense of another - for pupils still experienced the world in terms of their own images - but that, failing to acknowledge and accommodate contemporary culture as realised in the consciousness of living individuals, schooling ..... neglected the relationship between current and enshrined elements of the same culture and, therefore, failed to restore the enshrined culture to real currency'.

(Chanan and Gilchrist: 1974, pp27-28)

I have emphasised the intimacy of the arts with the living culture and also the significant part which appreciation of the arts has to play in developing a perspective on the cultures of the past. A practical step towards helping children to understand these living roles of the arts and at the same time to foster a closer engagement between schools and the community, is to bring children, teachers and artists, together for working projects.

Professional theatre workers are taking an increasing interest in education. Despite the condescension which

many artists appear to feel towards such interests, there are signs of a growing corpus of artists who welcome and value them. The larger funding agencies, such as the Arts Council of Great Britain, are also coming to realise that an effective policy of arts sponsorship cannot be divorced from an educational strategy.

In his report to the Calousse Gulbenkian Foundation, Lord Redcliffe-Maud (1976) concludes that:

'..... a revolution in educational policy over the next ten years, which brought the arts nearer to the heart of the curriculum in British Schools, is what I would most dearly like to see'.

(Op Cit., p23)

For this to happen he argues:

'..... we must reject the long established fallacy that arts support and arts education are two separate things. More positively, we must insist that those responsible for them are natural allies and see to it that they collaborate at national, regional and local levels'.

(Ibid., p27)

In recent years, a number of schemes have evolved which illustrate a new willingness to recognise this.<sup>38</sup> In addition, there has been a groundswell of interest and involvement in community arts<sup>39</sup> and in amateur arts, notably in youth theatre and youth orchestras.<sup>40</sup>

I have argued that the status of the arts in schools directly parallels more general attitudes in society



as a whole. If such initiatives indicate a change of attitude, teachers concerned with the arts in education would do well to investigate them thoroughly and consider areas of practical liaison. If children are to have their interests in the arts roused at school, it is important that opportunities should exist outside and beyond the classroom for these to be developed. The question of general provision for the arts is thus of central concern to education. Current initiatives to develop these relationships and to broaden the base of arts activity represent a significant cultural development which teachers concerned with the arts in education might do well to build them.

## 15 Summary

In this Chapter I have looked at some of the implications of this study for the development of drama in the curriculum. I have discussed the curriculum as a cultural process and argued that many of the practical problems which teachers now see themselves facing in drama derive from ideological constraints on curriculum innovation in general. Some teachers, recognising the political aspects of curriculum change have turned, for various reasons, to the examination system to legitimate drama. I have argued against this on the grounds that existing forms of examination are commonly at odds with the nature and functions of dramatic activity in schools. Nevertheless, evaluation and assessment may become important processes of curriculum reform and I have argued for forms of these which comply with the principles and concepts which we have associated first with drama and now with the curriculum as a whole.

## 16 In conclusion

I have been concerned in this study not with prescribing methods of teaching drama, but with developing a way of

thinking about it. To some degree, then, it is an example of the processes I have been examining. I began by considering the historical development of drama in schools, from its roots in popular theatre to the eventual separation of drama and theatre due to a concern with the spontaneous expression of feelings and ideas by children, and with subjectivity and individuality. I distinguished two main conceptions of individuality and argued that drama teachers have been aligned with the naturalist view. A range of issues derived from this and I have pursued them in relation to a number of recurring themes.

Drama is not primarily a subject nor a method of teaching. It is a way of knowing and interpreting experience of one-self, of others and of the world of objects and events. It draws on fundamental capacity for symbolisation: for representing experience in significant forms. The processes involved in this are essentially dialectical, the recognition of which challenges many of the dichotomies which have been invoked in the past to account for the value of drama, including drama/theatre; participation/appreciation; reason/emotion and arts/science.

Knowledge of ourselves, of others and of the world evolves through negotiation between people. The notion of objectivity derives from this, in the arts as in science. Scientists and artists are not always different people. The same person may approach the same events as either, so as to know them differently. Where the scientist seeks to put a bracket round his/her own feelings and values during the process of enquiry, the artist is concerned from the outset with questions of feeling and of value; with the personal as well as the inter-personal meanings of experience. Questions of value are insistent in education. Exploring them is a collective task and the arts, including drama, provide a means of undertaking it. I argued in Chapter Two that teachers need to go beyond individualism: to recognise the integrated nature of social life and the

social influences on individual development. I take it with Hargreaves (1980) that the concern with individualism in education is sometimes excessive in that it can deny children three basic educational opportunities:

- (1) learning how individual identity has a social and corporate component;
- (2) discovering how individual rights can be threatened by the group and so of discovering how and why those rights must be protected to give the group its moral base;
- (3) learning how personal interests must sometimes be subordinated to group needs.

The preoccupation with individualism is particularly ironic in drama, given the inherently social nature of the processes involved. The general task here is to progress from the mere expression of feelings and ideas, in groups, to an analysis of them, by the group. The first step, as Friere puts it, is to challenge the taken-for-granted:

'..... To present this human world as a problem for human beings is to propose that they 'enter into' it critically, taking the operation as a whole, their action and that of others on it. It means 're-entering into' the world through the 'entering into' of the previous understandings which may have been arrived at naively because reality was not examined as a whole. In 'entering into' their own world people become aware of their manner of acquiring knowledge and then realise the need to know even more'.

(Friere: 1973, pp154-5)

Dramatic activity is among the ways in which this can be done, in schools. Where a good deal of educational practice encourages privatised learning, dramatic activity can help schools to build on the recognition that pupils can learn from each other. In the broad setting of education, it is among the ways of acting on Archbishop Temple's call<sup>41</sup> to teach people to feel together and think for themselves, instead of thinking together and feeling alone.

APPENDIX ONE1 The survey1.1 The questionnaire

The questionnaire was sent in two parts to gather information on the following areas:

Part one - The school itself

- type; geographical position; catchment area; social mix; size of classes; methods of streaming (if any).

Part two - Staffing

- total numbers of specialist and non-specialist teachers of drama; amount of time spent by each specialist, each week, teaching drama and teaching other subjects; number of other arts specialists.

Timetabling

- how long drama has been in the timetable; size of groups; amount of time children spend on drama.

Facilities

- spaces for drama; technical equipment available (lights, sound facilities, video).

Assessment and examination

- methods of assessing drama work and grading (where appropriate); public examinations in drama - C.S.E. and G.C.E.; time spent on examination drama.

Theatre and education

- number of visits to theatres by each year group; number of visits by theatre in education teams.

Drama policy

- subject or method; skills through drama; effects of examination syllabuses?

Collecting information through postal surveys of this sort presents a number of difficulties in question composition and structure, particularly if the sample is to be selected more or less at random (see below). With a large sample the kinds of question that can be asked are limited by the number of responses that can be allowed for. And limiting the possible responses involves an element of prediction in the actual composition of the questionnaire. If this is not carefully controlled, the actual results and the picture they present can effectively be built into the survey at the design stage. There was a particular danger of this in composing questions on drama policy.

Because of the size of the sample and the large number of questions overall, the bulk of the information had to be gathered in a way which was accessible to computer analysis. This for the most part meant a multi-choice format for responses. Where factual information was requested, a high level of prediction was still compatible with the necessary flexibility - questions on staffing, timetabling etcetera. The problem here was to devise a framework for responses which was firm enough to permit an analysis of general trends, but which accommodated variations within individual schools.

Where particular figures were needed (numbers of specialist teachers for example) I allowed for what seemed, on the basis of my visits to schools, a likely maximum (four drama specialists is very unusual) and in the few cases where this was likely to be exceeded I asked for a general figure ('over four' and so on).

In the notes to the questionnaire, respondents were asked to make any additional comments on any section which misrepresented their actual situation.

A multi-choice format was obviously inappropriate for questions on policy where opinions were needed rather than statistics. I decided to include a section on policy, however, because some indication of teachers' thoughts and feelings on aims and assessment would clearly be of value.

A number of central issues had recurred during my discussions with teachers. I distilled these into five main questions related to this enquiry.

- (1) In your view is drama a subject, a method of teaching, or neither of these?
- (2) Do you feel it your responsibility as a drama teacher to develop any specific skills in the children? What, if any, are they?
- (3) Do you think the kind of developments you are working to bring about in children can reasonably be assessed through a public examination of the C.S.E./G.C.E. type?
- (4) If you already organize such an examination what briefly has been its effect on your work and that of the children?
- (5) If you do not organize such examinations, is there a reason for this? What do you feel would be the likely effect of drama examinations in your school, on your work and that of the children?

A space was left beneath each question for a written answer of three or four sentences. I emphasized in the notes that:

'Clearly a full statement of your views in any of these areas will be impossible in the space provided. What is hoped for is a brief unargued statement of your opinion/experiences so that some impression may be had of the range of feeling in these areas'.

#### 1.2 The sample

It is not known how many schools in the British Isles actually include drama in the timetable. It was not possible to survey all the schools to establish that figure. I wanted therefore to find between two and three hundred secondary schools which:

- (a) organized drama activities of one sort or another within the timetable;
- (b) were willing to give detailed information on this work.

Anticipating a generally poor response to postal questionnaires, and not knowing of course what percentage of schools satisfied even the first of these criteria, it was decided to cast a very wide net to begin with. Candidates for London Board examinations were entered through 1,755 secondary school centres in 1973. These were used as an accessible initial sample.

The first step was to establish how many of the schools met both these conditions. This was a primary function of part one of the questionnaire. This was sent to all schools together with a covering letter introducing the project. Those schools which responded positively on both accounts to part one were subsequently sent part two with explanatory notes on how to fill it in; plus a more detailed explanation of the project and the function of the survey within it. The information from

part one was then matched with completed replies to part two and the demographic information used as a basis for classifying the schools and comparing sets of results.

### 1.3 The response

#### 1.3.1 Part one

The total number of schools which were sent part one was: 1,755

The total number of schools which returned part one was: 529

This represents a 30% response to part one.

The majority of the schools which failed to respond to part one may have done so because they had no timetabled drama. Of the 529 schools to return part one, 396 (74.8%) organized drama in the timetable and 133 (25.2%) did not. 365 schools were prepared to complete part two; 164 were not.

#### 1.3.2 Part two

365 schools were sent part two. 259 completed and returned them. This gave a final response on part two of 71%.

### 1.4 Classifying the sample schools

I was interested to establish through the survey whether drama was being developed equally in all types of schools, in terms of staffing and timetabling for example, and, if not, whether there were any broad similarities in the types of school where it was popular.



Although teachers were asked to give a general classification of their school (secondary modern, independent, grammar etcetera) any comparison of the results on the basis of such broad groupings would have been very coarse.

Schools were therefore asked to give further details of:

(a) Catchment area

- central urban
- urban
- suburban
- rural

(b) Predominant occupations of parents in the school catchment area<sup>1</sup>

- professional
- managerial
- self-employed
- semi-skilled/skilled manual
- armed forces
- non-manual/clerical
- unemployed
- service
- agricultural
- unskilled/manual

(c) Most usual form of accommodation for children in the area

- terraced houses
- detached houses
- maisonette flats
- semi-detached houses
- tenement flats

(d) Size of school

- number of boys and girls in each year group

(e) Numbers of children whose parents are not native to Britain

Because of the concern of many drama teachers with social development and self-expression through language, I felt it was important to determine whether there was a significant number of schools within the sample which taught large numbers of immigrant children. Although there were four such schools (with over 100 immigrant children per year group), this was not significant enough to affect the eventual composition of the groups. Neither did it seem a critical factor in the work of those schools I visited.

This information was then analysed to explore the relationships between 41 variables defining each of the 259 cases in order to detect and describe broad modal type. The modal concept of type implies that the members of it resemble one another much more than they resemble members outside that type. These are not the only possible groupings within the sample, therefore. If different aspects of the data are emphasized to stress particular features of specific cases, the variations in membership of the groups are enormous. The final groupings seemed, after repeated analysis of the sample, to be the most useful and representative for the purposes of the comparative analyses. In the majority of cases, group membership was determined initially by general type (as above) and then refined further according to region, occupational groups and size, in that sequence.

Two of the groups, however, (11 and 12) consist of schools of different general type but resemble each other very closely in these other aspects.

Many of the other results were then compared on the basis of the groupings.

## 2 Where is drama taught?

In Table 1 the schools in the initial sample of 1,755 are classified according to general type and compared with the equivalent figures for the final sample of 259. The response to the questionnaire, from each type of school, is given as a percentage in column three.

Drama is taught in all types of secondary school in all areas of the country.<sup>2</sup>

Table 1

Classification of schools in initial and final samples according to general type

<u>Type</u>	<u>Initial Sample</u>	<u>Final Sample</u>	<u>Response</u>
Comprehensive	584 - 33.3%	119 - 46.0%	20.4%
Direct Grant	71 - 4.1%	13 - 5.0%	18.3%
Grammar	303 - 17.2%	40 - 15.4%	13.2%
Technical	31 - 1.8%	4 - 1.5%	12.9%
Sec Modern	299 - 17.0%	37 - 14.3%	12.3%
Independent	376 - 21.4%	38 - 14.7%	10.1%
Others	91 - 5.2%	8 - 3.1%	8.7%
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL	1,755 100.0%	259 100.0%	14.8%
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

Drama is taught more commonly in comprehensives than in other types of school. These comprise almost half of the final sample, compared with just a third of the original

group. This represents a 20% response from all of the comprehensives which received the questionnaire.

There was a similarly high response from the direct grant schools. This is a small group in both the initial and the final samples, however. Apart from these two groups, there are smaller proportions of each type of school in the final sample than in the initial sample. The second largest group in the final sample - about a sixth - is the grammar schools with a 13.2% response to the survey. There was a comparable response from the technical schools - 12.9% - but these again are a small group. The number of both secondary modern and independent schools where drama is taught also seems, from the survey to be small. A very high proportion of the final sample of schools are predominantly lower middle and working class. This includes most of the comprehensive and many of the secondary modern schools.

The demographic information on each school was analysed to divide the final sample of 259 into twelve main groups. The predominant characteristics of each of these groups is as follows:

Table 2

<u>Main features of school groups</u>	<u>Number in group</u>
<u>GROUP ONE</u>	22
Rural comprehensives; predominantly working class; all quite large (over 600); equal numbers of boys and girls.	
<u>GROUP TWO</u>	35
Suburban comprehensives; predominantly lower middle class; relatively large; high proportion	

<u>Main features of school groups</u>	<u>Number in groups</u>
of immigrant children; equal numbers of boys and girls.	
<u>GROUP THREE</u>	42
Urban comprehensives; working class; large; high proportions of immigrant children; even mix of sexes.	
<u>GROUP FOUR</u>	20
Central urban comprehensives; working class; large to very large (1,200); high proportions of immigrant children; even mix of sexes.	
<u>GROUP FIVE</u>	24
Suburban grammars; middle class; medium sized; slightly more girls overall.	
<u>GROUP SIX</u>	20
Urban/suburban secondary modern schools; lower middle class; all sizes; slightly more girls.	
<u>GROUP SEVEN</u>	11
Predominantly rural secondary moderns; working class (chiefly agricultural); small/medium sized; slightly more boys overall.	
<u>GROUP EIGHT</u>	40
Independent schools; suburban/rural; upper middle class; medium sized;	

<u>Main features of school groups</u>	<u>Number in group</u>
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high proportions of girls; high proportion of denominational schools.

GROUP NINE

13

Direct grant; upper middle class; small to large; equal numbers of boys and girls.

GROUP TEN

10

Urban/rural grammar; medium sized/ small; even mix of sexes.

GROUP ELEVEN

10

Lower middle/working class, central urban schools; various types; very high proportions of girls; medium size.

GROUP TWELVE

12

Mixed group of middle class, suburban schools and sixth form colleges; medium to large; even mix of boys and girls.

TOTAL:	259
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Average group size:	21.5
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### 3 How many drama teachers are there?

#### 3.1 Specialists

In an area of curriculum development where aims and methodology are uncertain, the definition of a 'specialist'

presents particular problems. For the purposes of the survey, I proposed a practical definition based on terms of employment.

I asked respondents to consider as a specialist:

'..... anyone who is employed specifically to take drama work of some kind, although he may well have additional teaching responsibilities';

and as non-specialists:

'..... teachers who involve themselves in drama work with children, but who are not specifically employed to do so'.

Table 3

Numbers of drama specialists per school

<u>Number of specialists</u>	<u>Number of schools</u>	
None (no response)	79	- 30.5%
One	<u>115</u>	- <u>44.4%</u>
Two	36	- 13.9%
Three	15	- 5.8%
Four	8	- 3.1%
Over four	6	- 2.3%
	—	—
TOTAL:	259	100.0%
	==	==

Allowing for up to eight per cent 'no response', almost a quarter of these schools have no drama specialist, although they do have drama activities on the timetable. Less than half have one specialist and less than a fifth have two. About one twentieth of the sample schools have three specialists.

For comparison, the corresponding numbers of other arts specialists were also requested. These figures - for music, art and English - are given in Table 4.

Table 4

Numbers of music, art and English specialists per school

<u>Number of specialists</u>	<u>Number of schools</u>		
	<u>Music</u>	<u>Art</u>	<u>English</u>
None (no response)	18 - 6.9%	19 - 7.3%	14 - 5.4%
One	83 - 32.1%	47 - 18.2%	11 - 4.2%
Two	<u>88</u> - 34.0%	<u>68</u> - 26.3%	19 - 7.3%
Three	33 - 12.7%	54 - 20.9%	23 - 8.9%
Four	15 - 5.8%	34 - 13.1%	44 - 17.0%
Five	5 - 1.9%	19 - 7.3%	37 - 14.3%
Over five	17 - 6.6%	18 - 6.9%	<u>111</u> - 42.9%
TOTAL:	<u>259</u> 100.0%	<u>259</u> 100.0%	<u>259</u> 100.0%

In the sample schools there are, on average, twice as many music specialists, twice as many art specialists and more than four times as many English specialists as there are drama specialists.

These figures yield the following approximate totals for each type of specialist:

Table 5

Total numbers of English, art, music and drama specialists

English	1,145	-	43.0%
Art	684	-	25.6%
Music	545	-	20.4%
Drama	294	-	11.0%
TOTAL:	<u>2,668</u>		<u>100.0%</u>



Drama specialists make up a tenth of the total number of these specialists. They are not distributed evenly throughout the sample however. There is a concentration of specialists in particular types of school.

The distribution of specialists among the twelve school groups is given overleaf in Table 6.

Although there is some correspondence in the ratios of each type of specialist throughout the twelve groups of schools, drama specialists seem to be employed in greater numbers in the lower middle and working class comprehensive and secondary modern schools (Groups 1 - 4 and 6, 7). In these six groups they comprise, on average, 12.8% of the total number of specialists per group. In the older established schools, the drama teacher is much rarer. In Group 5 for example, the suburban grammar schools, the percentage of drama specialists is 7.6%. And in the small direct grant schools (Group 9) the figure is 4.4%.

Table 6Distribution of specialists according to school group

<u>GROUP</u>	<u>SUBJECT</u>				<u>TOTAL</u>
	<u>English</u>	<u>Art</u>	<u>Music</u>	<u>Drama</u>	
One	104 (45.0%)	55 (23.8%)	42 (18.2%)	30 (13.0%)	231
Two	166 (43.7%)	109 (28.7%)	60 (15.8%)	45 (11.8%)	380
Three	186 (37.5%)	149 (30.0%)	102 (20.6%)	59 (11.9%)	496
Four	108 (40.3%)	83 (31.0%)	45 (16.8%)	32 (11.9%)	268
Five	113 (53.8%)	46 (21.9%)	35 (16.7%)	16 ( 7.6%)	210
Six	97 (43.3%)	63 (28.1%)	30 (13.4%)	34 (15.2%)	224
Seven	46 (46.0%)	26 (26.0%)	15 (15.0%)	13 (13.0%)	100
Eight	126 (34.7%)	61 (16.8%)	138 (38.0%)	38 (10.5%)	363
Nine	56 (48.7%)	25 (21.7%)	29 (25.2%)	5 ( 4.4%)	115
Ten	36 (54.5%)	14 (21.2%)	11 (16.7%)	5 ( 7.6%)	66
Eleven	47 (50.5%)	20 (21.5%)	18 (19.4%)	8 ( 8.6%)	93
Twelve	60 (49.2%)	33 (27.0%)	20 (16.4%)	9 ( 7.4%)	122
TOTAL	1,145	684	545	294	2,668

With the exception of the independent schools (Group Eight) there are more English specialists overall in each group followed by art teachers, then music and finally drama teachers.

In Group Eight there is, in fact, a majority of music teachers. There are comparatively few drama teachers, however, (10.5% of the total) and the proportion of art teachers is also small in this group (16.8%).

There are relatively few drama teachers in Group Ten - urban/rural grammar; in Group Twelve - the mixed group of suburban schools and sixth form colleges; and also in Group Eleven, a group of schools in which there is an exceptionally high proportion of girls.

### 3.2 Non-specialists

Drama teaching relies, in many cases, on a high degree of non-specialist involvement. The numbers of non-specialists are given in Table 7. These figures give an approximate total of 526 non-specialist teachers of drama - very nearly double the number of specialists. This figure will include a number of teachers who take the occasional drama lesson as a method of teaching another subject.

There are a number of possible explanations for this.

- Schools have difficulty in getting trained specialists to fill drama posts. (The D.E.S. keep no figures relating to the number of qualified drama teachers).
- Schools have difficulty in creating new specialist posts and therefore employ trained drama teachers in other departments.
- Schools do not see the need for trained drama specialists, believing that other members of staff can adequately do the same job.

Table 7Numbers of non-specialists per school

<u>Numbers of non-specialists</u>	<u>Number of schools</u>
None (no response)	92 - 35.5%
One	48 - 18.5%
Two	26 - 10.0%
Three	27 - 10.4%
Four	23 - 8.4%
Five	20 - 7.7%
Six	8 - 3.1%
Over six	15 - 5.8%
<hr/>	
TOTAL:	259 100.0%
<hr/>	

Staffing for drama teaching can be clarified by considering in more detail:

- where drama specialists come from;
- who they work for when they are taken on in schools;
- the main teaching subjects of the non-specialists.

### 3.3 Where do drama teachers come from?

I asked respondents to the survey to indicate whether each specialist was:

- (a) a teacher-trained drama specialist
- (b) a teacher trained in another subject but with drama as a subsidiary
- (c) a graduate with Post Graduate Certificate in Education in drama
- (d) a drama graduate
- (e) a teacher trained in another subject with drama qualifications other than these

- (f) a teacher experienced in drama work but with no specialist qualification.

Table 8

Qualifications of drama specialists

<u>Qualification</u>	<u>Number of specialists</u>	
Teacher trained drama specialist	153	- 52.0%
Teacher trained drama subsidiary	34	- 11.5%
Graduates with P.G.C.E. in drama	12	- 4.1%
Drama graduates	24	- 8.2%
Other qualifications in drama	19	- 6.5%
No qualifications in drama	52	- 17.7%
TOTAL:		294 100.0%

Just over half the specialists were trained in colleges of education taking drama as a main course. Including those who took drama as a subsidiary and graduates with P.G.C.E. in drama, 68% of the specialists in the sample received their drama training through the colleges of education.

There were small proportions of drama graduates and teachers with various other qualifications. Almost a fifth of the specialists had no drama qualifications.

Of the 166 specialists working in the four groups of comprehensives, 122 (74%) were college trained; 9 (5%) were drama graduates and a further 9 had some other qualification in drama. Twenty six of those teachers (17%) had no specialist qualification in drama. This is 50% of all such teachers in the sample. Nineteen (50%) of the 38 specialists in independent schools (Group Eight) were college trained and 8 (21%) were

graduates. Seven (21%) had no qualifications in drama. All of the five drama teachers working in direct grant schools (Group Nine) were college of education trained in drama.

#### 3.4 Where do drama teachers go to?

Schools were asked to indicate on the questionnaire whether for the most part, drama is organized by:

- (a) an independent drama department
- (b) the English department
- (c) a faculty of creative/liberal arts
- (d) the music department
- (e) the art department.

The results of this are summarised in Figure 5.

In over half of the sample schools (56.4%) drama is organized through the English department. About a third (39.8%) have an independent drama department. These are far more common in the four groups of comprehensive schools than in any other type of school;

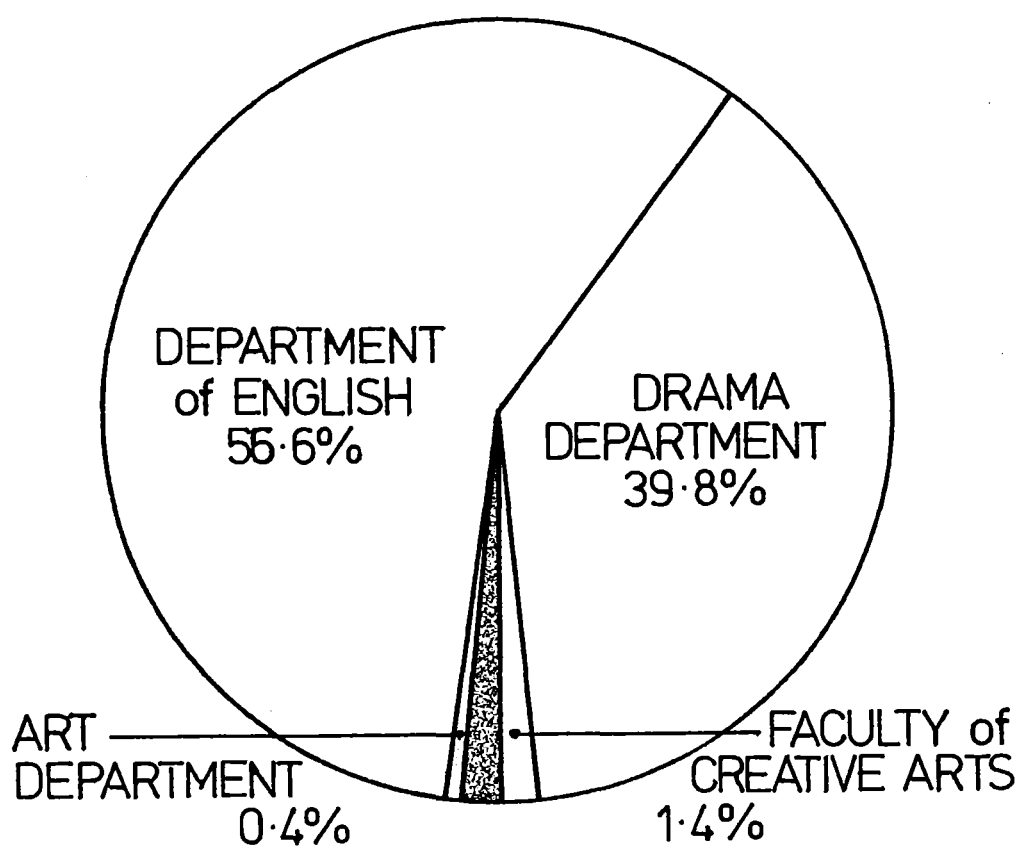
- 64% of schools in Group 1 have a drama department;
- 49% of schools in Group 2 have a drama department;
- 41% of schools in Group 3 have a drama department;
- 60% of schools in Group 4 have a drama department.

Although, on average, half of the schools in each of these groups have a drama department, these account for over half (61.2%) of all such departments in the whole sample.

Drama is predominantly organized through the English department in all of the other groups of schools, but this arrangement is particularly common in:

Figure 5

Departments responsible for drama work



- (a) all girls schools
- (b) schools with a very high proportion of girls
- (c) selective entry schools  
(Groups 5, 8, 9, 10, 11).

Of the 146 English departments responsible for drama teaching in this sample, a total of 76 (52%) employ 111 (38%) of the 294 drama specialists. Of the remaining specialists 176 (60%) are employed in the 103 drama departments and the remaining 7 (2%) in faculties of liberal or creative arts. The numbers of English and drama departments employing between 1 and 4 specialists are given in Table 9.

Table 9

Numbers of drama specialists in English and drama departments

<u>Number of specialists</u>	<u>Number of departments</u>	
	<u>English</u>	<u>Drama</u>
One	55	61
Two	13	22
Three	4	10
Four	2	6
Over four	2	4
	—	—
TOTAL:	76	103
	==	==

Over half of the drama departments in the sample have a staff of one. This in turn accounts for just over half of the single specialists in the sample. It is rare for English departments to have two specialists and quite exceptional for them to have more. There were drama departments of two or more teachers in 42 schools.



#### 4 How much drama is there?

##### 4.1 The staff

###### 4.1.1 Time spent teaching drama

Teachers were asked to indicate the approximate number of hours spent by each specialist, each week, teaching drama. The results of this are summarized in Figure 6. Where there is one specialist - 40% work alone - 16 took a full week of drama. The majority of single specialists teach less than 20 hours of drama per week.

The amount of time spent teaching drama in a given school does not necessarily increase with the introduction of extra specialists. Additional specialists often teach less than 10 hours of drama per week and a large proportion of them take less than 5 hours. It seems that extra specialists are mainly employed in larger schools to extend the teaching of drama, in small amounts to larger numbers of children (see below 4.2.1) rather than to increase the amount of drama for each individual.

###### 4.1.2 Time spent on other teaching

Drama teachers often pointed out that they spent as much and more time teaching other subjects. English is the most common extra. Respondents were asked to indicate how much time they do spend teaching other subjects. These results are summarized in Figure 7. In schools where there are two or more specialists, the extra specialists often spend the majority of the week teaching other subjects. Some of these take only an occasional drama lesson. A total of 8 specialists spend over 30 hours per week teaching something other than drama. The majority of 2nd, 3rd and 4th specialists spend between 10 and 25 hours per week teaching something else.

Figure 6

Time spent teaching drama by 1 - 4 specialists

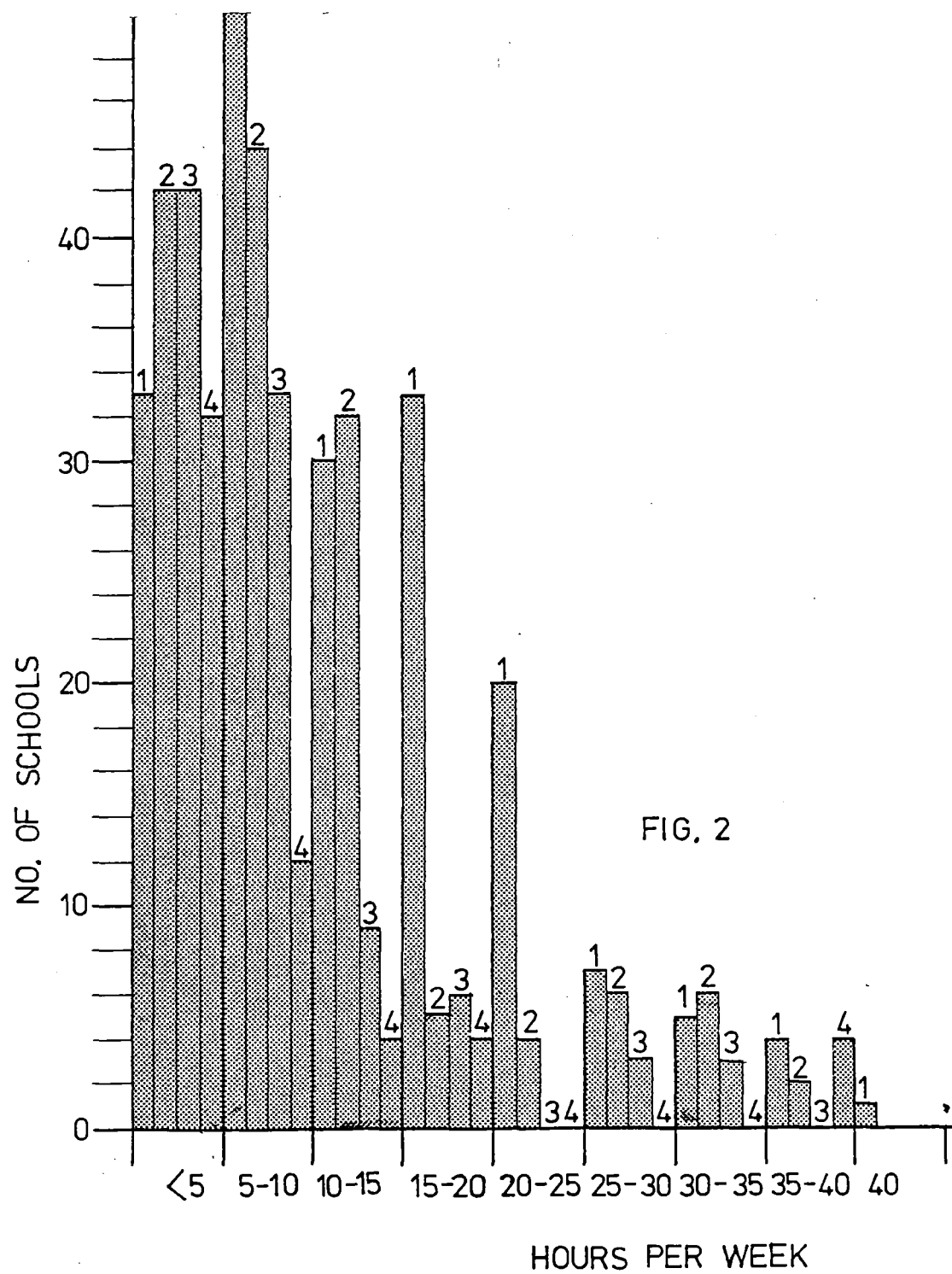
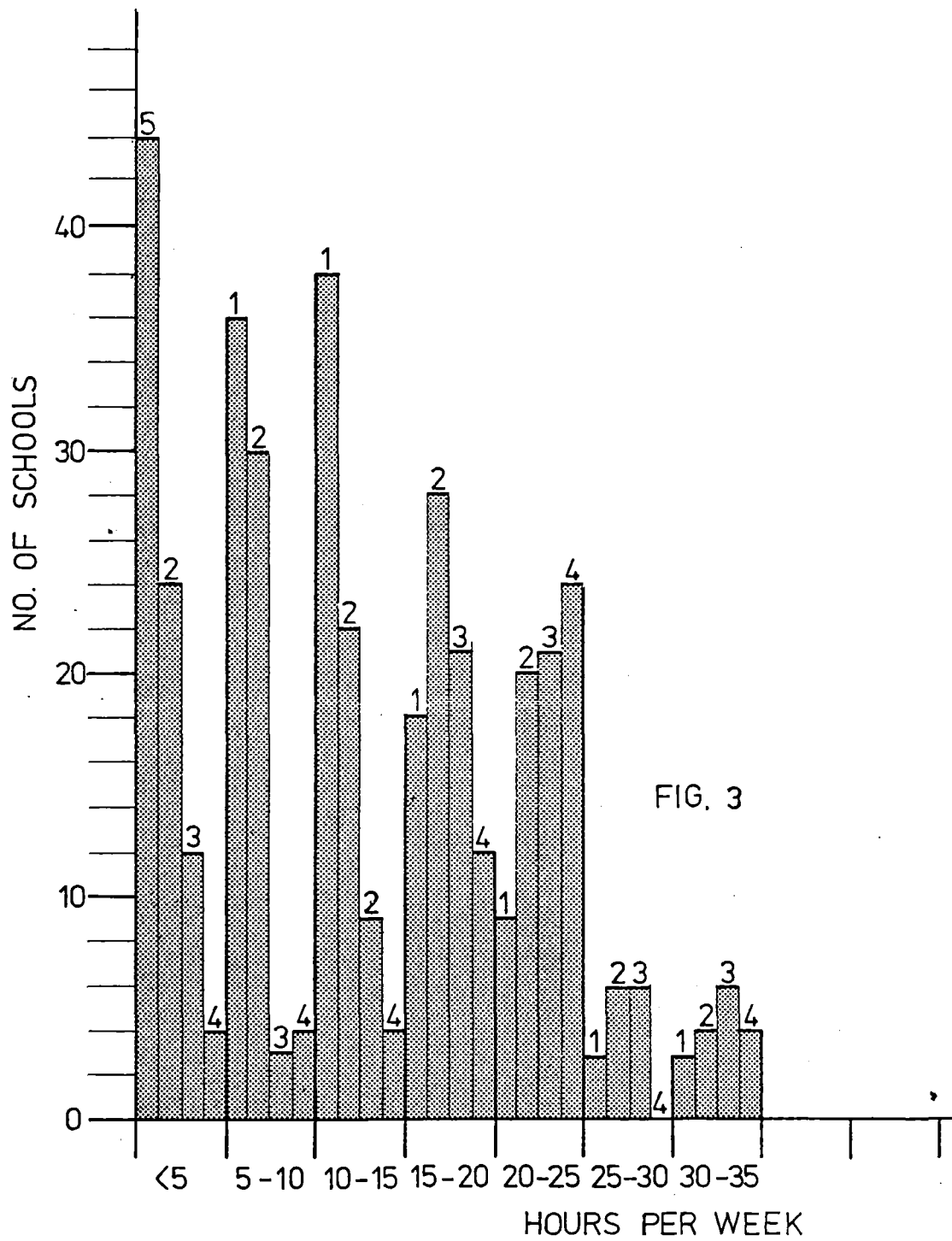


Figure 7

Time spent on non-drama teaching by 1 - 4 specialists



Although, collectively, the non-specialists seem to account for a substantial proportion of the drama teaching in the sample schools - there are twice as many non-specialists as specialists - individually they account for a small proportion of drama work done. The majority of such teachers take something less than 5 hours of drama per week. Forty of the 526 non-specialists take more than 5 hours per week and of these 4 take more than 10. None of these teachers take more than 15 hours of drama in any one week.

#### 4.2 The children

How much time do the children themselves spend on drama work during the course of the week?

##### 4.2.1 Status of drama

Figure 8 combines information on the number of schools that timetable drama in each year and whether or not, in each case, it is offered as a compulsory or optional activity or as a mixture of both.

A majority of the schools (182 - 70.2%) timetable drama in the first year. In 148 (81.3%) of these it is compulsory; in 9 (4.9%) it is optional and in 25 (13.7%) it is a mixture of both. This remains much the same in the second year. Here it is compulsory in 145 (80.6%) of the 180 (69.5%) schools which timetable drama. Of the remainder, 9 (5.0%) still offer drama as an option and 26 (14.4%) offer it as a mixture of both. In the third year, slightly fewer schools offer drama on the timetable. The figure is now 163 (62.9%). It is compulsory in 123 of these (76.0%). Slightly more schools now make drama optional (14 - 8.6%) and there is a similar rise in the number of schools where drama is offered as a mixture of both (30 - 18.4%).

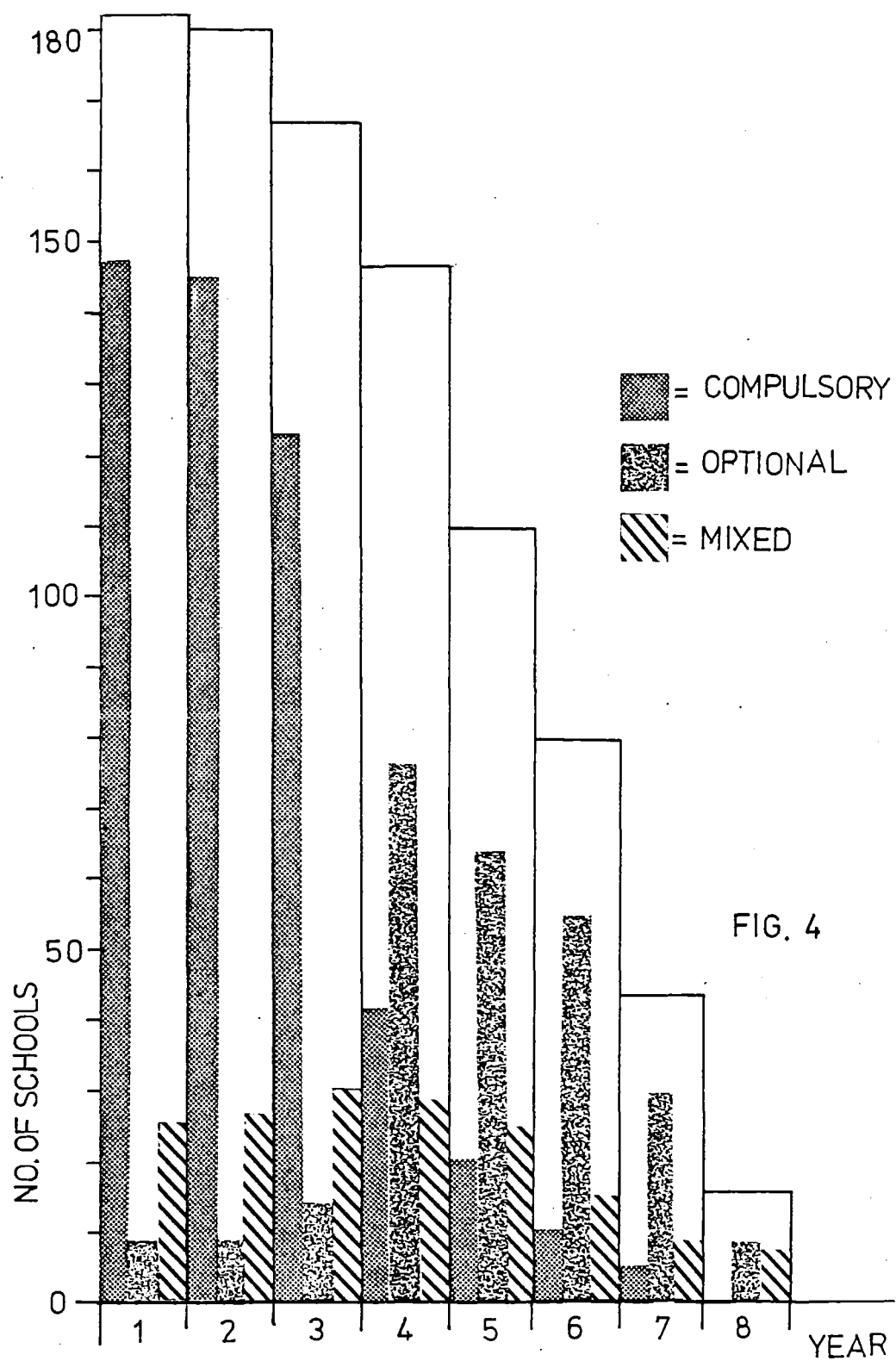
**Figure 8**Status of timetabled drama in the sample schools

FIG. 4

In the fourth year, there is a drop in the total number of schools offering drama. There are now 147 overall (56.8%), just over half of the sample. From here on drama becomes an extra-curricular activity in 112 of the schools. This must mean, in practice, that for most children in these schools, their experience of drama is now over. Drama is also compulsory in a small proportion of remaining schools: in 41 (28.0%) of the 147 schools where drama still exists within the curriculum. This is 15.8% of the total sample of 259. There is an increase in the number of optional drama courses from third to fourth year. Seventy seven (52.4%) of the 147 schools have drama as an option. One less school (29 - 19.7%) offers it as a mixture of both. This trend continues in the 5th and 6th years of the secondary school and is characteristic of the 5th form colleges.

In the 5th year, the overall total is 110 (43%). Of these, 21 (19.1%) make drama compulsory: 64 (58%) offer it as an option and 25 (22.7%) as a mixture. Eighty schools (31%) offer drama in the 6th year. It is compulsory in 10 (12.5%) of these, optional in 55 (68.8%) and a mixture in 15 (18.8%).

#### 4.2.2 Time for drama

Given the changing status of drama from year to year, how much time is it possible for a child to spend on drama, each week, as he/she progresses through the secondary school? Because of the irregular length of teaching periods, sample schools were asked to give details of the number of minutes per week, which are timetabled for drama for the children of each year. The results of this question are given in Table 10.

In the majority of schools where drama is on the timetable, pupils in the first three years have between 30 and 40 minutes of drama per week (105 in Year One; 110 in Year Two and 99 in Year Three). About a third as many in each case have twice this amount - 60 - 80 minutes per week (40; 34, 29 schools respectively).

Although there is a decline in the total number of schools offering drama in the fourth year, a greater proportion of these offer between 120 and 160 minutes of drama. This is repeated in the fifth year (23 and 16 schools respectively).

This results from drama being offered as an option.

Table 10

Number of minutes spent by children of each year on time-  
tabled drama activities

[illegible]

The pattern of most schools offering 30 - 40 minutes and a smaller number (in this case almost half as many) offering 60 - 80 is also maintained. There are also higher numbers of schools offering comparatively large amounts of drama in the sixth forms.

#### 4.2.3 Size of groups for drama

The number and size of groups for drama in each year are given in Table 11.

Table 11

Number and size of drama groups in each year throughout the sample

<u>Size</u>	<u>Number of groups</u>							
	<u>Year</u>							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
0-10	3	4	2	3	6	<u>30</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>4</u>
10-20	25	25	26	<u>63</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>4</u>
20-30	<u>112</u>	<u>117</u>	<u>120</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>46</u>	5	1	1
30-40	<u>52</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>30</u>	11	7	1		
Over 40	3	1	2	1				
TOTAL	195	195	180	150	114	84	42	9

These results again illustrate the changeover from compulsory to optional drama in the fourth year, but also highlight the decline in the numbers of children taking drama from the fourth to the fifth year. It is likely that some non-examination option groups survive into the fourth but do not last into the next year, when examinations are actually taken.



In the years when drama is predominantly compulsory - 1 - 3 - teachers work with whole classes. These are mainly between 20 and 30 in size. A few teachers work with more than 40 children at a time even, in one case, into the fourth year, but this is exceptional and may mark the amalgamation of classes or the involvement of teachers in team teaching, in the creative arts with whole year groups or ability bands.

In the fourth and fifth there is a shift to smaller groups - mainly between 10 and 20; and in the senior forms less than 10.

## 5 Facilities for drama

### 5.1 Areas for drama work

Drama is taught in classrooms, studios, dining rooms even corridors: that is, in areas which are either:

- (a) custom built;
- (b) adapted for drama;
- (c) unadapted.

Teachers were asked to indicate how many areas are available for drama work, in their school, and in which of these three categories they fitted. They were also asked to indicate whether in each case they considered them to be adequate or inadequate for drama. The results of this are given in Table 12.

There are 587 areas for drama in the 259 schools. Although this is an average of two areas per school, 43 schools have four areas, 15 have five and 5 schools have six available areas. In the majority of cases, these extra areas are unadapted.

Table 12Number and type of areas available for drama work in the sample schools

<u>Type</u>	<u>Number of areas</u>						<u>TOTAL</u>
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	
Custom built	<u>34</u>	26	12	4	-	-	126
Adapted	<u>73</u>	61	22	8	3	-	167
Unadapted	81	<u>101</u>	64	31	12	5	294
TOTAL	238	188	98	43	15	5	587

5.1.1 Custom built areas

It is becoming common for custom built drama studios to be incorporated into the design of new schools. Although these seem to be more common in comprehensives, it is difficult to detect an overall pattern according to school type. There are 126 such areas, 21.5% of the total. Designs for these vary tremendously, but they often double as theatres and are therefore used for school productions, concerts and even for assembly.

Respondents were not compelled, by the wording of this question, to list such areas in any order. It does not follow from this classification array, therefore, that there are schools in this sample with two, three or four studios. I have visited one or two schools which have both a theatre and a studio. But this is quite exceptional. The usual pattern is for a school to have one custom built area for drama, and for additional areas to be either adapted or unadapted.

### 5.1.2 Adapted areas

Any large space can be adapted for drama work. This usually involves providing the area with blackout facilities and ensuring a smooth floor space. Additionally some lighting equipment may be installed together with a simple sound system. This is often the practice in old schools where one large classroom, or two smaller rooms knocked together, are converted. There are 167 such areas in the sample - 28.5% of the total.

### 5.1.3 Unadapted areas

Drama is often taken in classrooms, school halls and so on. There are distinct disadvantages to this. The most serious of these is that such areas are invariably used for other things. Teachers who work in school halls, for example, must contend with their frequent use as thoroughfares, with the setting up of dinner tables, school assemblies and so on. It also means, very often, that drama lessons are cancelled, and not just curtailed, as the hall is the most usual venue for examinations at the end of the term, and for meetings of all types at any point during it. Unadapted areas are the most common in this sample, 294 out of 587 - 50.1%.

Almost half the teachers in the sample (42%) felt that the areas available for drama work were inadequate. Some of these were just as critical of the custom built drama studios as of the classrooms. These criticisms were not so much related to the adequacy or otherwise of the areas and equipment per se, but to the limitations which the school had placed on their use. Having spent a great deal of money on erecting a drama studio, and recognizing their overall scarcity, schools are often quick

to safeguard their investment, and discourage the teacher from undertaking any sort of work which might endanger the fabric or appearance of the studio. Although this is common sense on the one hand, many drama teachers suffer from the restrictions this puts on them and feel, in the end, that they might have preferred a room which the children are freer to exploit. One teacher complained for example that:

'..... we're worried about touching the walls in case we mark them.'

## 5.2 Equipment for drama work

Teachers can make extensive use, in drama, of both sound and lighting equipment. Although these have obvious applications in mounting productions, within curriculum drama their main use is in providing a stimulus and/or an atmosphere or environment for creative work. Teachers were asked whether they had access to sound and lighting facilities and whether in each case it was available for use in one area or in all of them. These results are given in Table 13.

Table 13

Technical equipment available for use in drama work

<u>Equipment</u>	<u>For use in area ...</u>					<u>TOTALS</u>
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>Any</u>	
Tape recorder	<u>115</u>	9	1	—	<u>117</u>	<u>242</u>
Record player	<u>116</u>	8	1		<u>113</u>	<u>238</u>
P/A system	<u>54</u>	18	4	1	17	<u>94</u>
Studio lights	<u>97</u>	10	2	1	11	<u>121</u>
Lighting board	<u>142</u>	28	7	3	13	<u>193</u>

### 5.2.1 Sound equipment

Teachers often use music or other recorded sounds as a stimulus for drama work, and would therefore argue the necessity of access to a simple sound system - tape recorders and/or record players.

Not all of the teachers in the sample have access to such equipment. There were 242 tape recorders and 238 record players available for use in the 259 sample schools, 48% of each of which (115 and 116 respectively) could only be used in one area. These, presumably, were the 126 custom built areas. Most of the remainder (117 and 113) were portable.

Public address systems are available in 94 (36%) of the schools. Tannoy systems are becoming increasingly common, it seems. It is worth noting that, although these are clearly of tremendous value in terms of improving speed of communication between administration and staff in large schools, they can have a particularly destructive effect on drama work, or on any work which requires concentration and an intimate working atmosphere.

### 5.2.2 Lighting equipment

Broadly speaking studio lighting has much the same function within drama lessons as in theatre. It is used primarily to create atmosphere and to isolate areas so as to focus attention and increase concentration. Drama work can be done without the benefit of this, but, as one teacher commented, it can also improve as a result of it. Fewer schools have access to lighting than to sound equipment and, as these results indicate, where lighting is available it tends to be fixed in one area.

### 5.2.3 Video equipment

Ninety nine (38.2%) of the sample schools have access to video recording equipment; and 111 (42.9%) to video playback.

Less than half of the teachers in the sample (40.2%) felt that facilities in their school were adequate. But a much higher proportion felt that they were necessary (80%).

## 6 Types of development through drama

The main responses to the questions on types of development promoted through drama (see Chapter 2:7.2) are summarised in Table 14.

Table 14

### Types of development through drama work

<u>Response</u>	<u>Approximate Frequency %</u>
Control of Body (physical communication)	80
Control of Voice (clarity of speech, diction etc)	65
Self-confidence	50
Sensitivity/understanding	45
Imagination/creativity	45
Awareness of others	45
Co-operation	45
Self-awareness	40
Understanding theatre	30
Technical theatre skills (make-up, lighting etc)	25
Interest in literature	15
Acting skills	5

## 7 Assessment and Examination

## 7.1 Streaming

Sample schools were asked to indicate whether children were streamed, and if so, whether this was done on the basis of ability or subject options. The results of this are given in Table 15. The usual pattern is for children to be unstreamed in the first two years of the secondary school - although 44 and 69 schools stream according to ability in years 1 and 2 respectively. In year 3 the number of schools which divide children according to ability increases to 93 and there is also a rise from 10 schools in a year 2 to 30 schools in year three which stream by subjects. In year 4 there is a very sharp rise in the use of subject based streaming - now 124 - and also in those which, within subject streaming, differentiate further according to ability: 54 as opposed to 15 in year 3.

Table 15

## Methods of streaming

	Year							
Method	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Unstreamed	<u>155</u>	<u>136</u>	<u>97</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>16</u>
By subject	4	10	30	<u>124</u>	<u>126</u>	<u>104</u>	<u>74</u>	19
By ability	<u>44</u>	<u>69</u>	<u>93</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>30</u>	9	3	5
By both	4	6	15	<u>54</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>20</u>	12	
By some other method	6	9	10	7	8	3	3	1
No response	46	29	14	9	16	76	131	218
TOTAL	259	259	259	259	259	259	259	259

In the cases where streaming was based on ability, teachers were asked to indicate whether for the most part this was determined by:

- (1) examination performance;
- (2) intelligence testing;
- (3) continuous assessment by the staff.

The majority of schools use a combination of all of these. The number of schools relying entirely on examination performance is small but more or less constant for years 1 - 6 (Table 16). Continuous assessment is the most common procedure in sorting out option groups in year 3, but in a significant number of schools this is matched against performance in supplementary examinations - usually devised internally and taken at the end of the school term. It seems, from these results, that streaming in most schools is no longer seen as an absolute necessity and that, where it is used, the judgement of the staff rather than examination performance, is increasingly taken into account.



Table 16Methods of determining ability

<u>Method</u>	<u>Year</u>							
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>
Exams	11	9	11	12	12	8	7	2
Intell.								
Tests	6	1	2	2	2			
Contin.								
Assess.	<u>14</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>31</u>	9	3	1
Exams &								
Intell.								
Tests	2	1	2					
Exams &								
Contin.								
Assess.	8	<u>22</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>34</u>	8	4	1
Intell.								
Tests &								
Contin.								
Assess.	2	1	2					
All three								
Methods	9	7	8	3	3	2	1	1
No Response	207	179	147	171	177	232	244	251
TOTAL	259	259	259	259	259	259	259	259

Generally speaking drama is not taken into account for the purposes of streaming within the school. Only 5; 5; 4; 5; 5 and 2 schools use teachers' assessment of drama work in this way in years 1 - 6 respectively.

## 7.2 Forms of assessment

Teachers were asked to indicate whether in each year the child's drama work is given:

- (1) informal evaluation by the teacher only;
- (2) an extended written assessment by the teacher;

- (3) a formal end of term grade or mark given by the teacher;
- (4) a grade or mark as above plus an extended written comment.

The results of this question (Table 17) show a general preference for informal assessment in all years of the secondary school. A fairly constant number of schools give written assessments or grades throughout. Where grades are given it is usual for them to be accompanied by a written comment. There is a rise in the number of schools which do this in the fourth and fifth years.

Table 17

Forms of assessment in drama work

<u>Type of Assessment</u>	<u>Year</u>							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Informal	<u>132</u>	<u>132</u>	<u>128</u>	<u>74</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>44</u>	26	8
Written	15	16	12	15	12	<u>13</u>	11	1
Grade	13	16	14	14	13	6	3	
Written								
plus grade	<u>23</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>37</u>	11	2	1
No Response	76	70	85	116	146	185	217	149
TOTAL	259	259	259	259	259	259	259	259

### 7.3 Methods of assessment

How do those who do give grades actually arrive at them?

Teachers were asked if a grade or mark is given, what method they used to determine it:

- (1) continuous assessment over a term or more

- (2) performance in a formal written examination;
- (3) performance in a formal practical examination;
- (4) a mixture of practical and written examinations.

With only one or two exceptions, such grades are based on continuous assessment in years 1 - 3.

Although this is still the main method in years 4 and 5 it is increasingly common here to use examinations. These are usually a mixture of both practical and written work, the results of which are qualified by the teachers own remarks before a final grade is established.

#### 8 Examinations: review of C.S.E. syllabuses

Of the 259 schools in the sample 64 (25%) offer C.S.E. examination courses as options in the fourth and fifth years.

They are variously called:

<u>Title</u>	<u>Mode</u>	<u>No. of Courses</u>
Drama	1	2
Drama and Theatre Arts	3	18
Theatre Arts	3	8
Drama	3	36
		—
	TOTAL	64
		—

Thirty three syllabuses were returned with the questionnaires. The aims of the courses, as described in these papers were:

Table 18Main aims of C.S.E. syllabuses returned with questionnaires

<u>Aims</u>	<u>Number of syllabuses</u>	
<u>To encourage</u>		
A knowledge and appreciation of the Theatre	21	(63%)
The development of theatre skills	12	(36%)
The development of creative forms of expression based on theatre skills	10	(30%)
<u>To develop</u>		
Physical skills	10	(30%)
Vocal skills	10	(30%)
An awareness of others	10	(30%)
Powers of self-expression	9	(27%)
The individual (personal development)	8	(24%)
An interest in the theatre and related arts	8	(24%)
Self-confidence	7	(21%)
Imagination	7	(21%)
An awareness of the environment	7	(21%)
Literary skills	7	(21%)
Self-awareness	6	(18%)
Individual talents for leisure	4	(12%)
Expression of emotions through body and voice	2	( 6%)
Co-operation	2	( 6%)
To prepare pupils for possible college courses	2	( 6%)
Social training	1	( 3%)
To develop a feeling for research	1	( 3%)

Table 19Content of C.S.E. syllabuses

<u>Content</u>	<u>Number of Syllabuses</u>	
History of the theatre	20	(60%)
Improvisation	20	(60%)
Study of technical skills (lighting, make-up, etc.)	19	(57%)
Appreciation of texts	16	(48%)
Movement	16	(48%)
Voice	15	(45%)
T.V. and film	15	(45%)
Practical aspects of staging plays	13	(39%)
Tape and other media work	12	(36%)
Mime	9	(27%)
Art of the Playwright	8	(18%)
Direction	7	(21%)
Writing scripts	6	(18%)

Ten of the syllabuses include an element of performance by the candidates during the course and eleven involve participation in a production of some kind. Most of them require the candidate to undertake a personal project related to some aspect of the course and to present this to the examiners, either as a folder or a model (in the case of stage design, for example) or as a performance.

Forms of the examination

Twenty nine of the C.S.E. examinations involve a mixture of written and practical work. Four of them are purely practical. In general the examinations involve:

- continuous assessment of course work by the teacher and moderated by an external examiner;

- assessment of a folder or diary containing individual project work;
- practical work observed by an external examiner - prepared and/or unprepared improvisations in groups or as individuals ;
- written paper. This usually contains questions on:
  - theatre history
  - practical aspects of production
  - clarification of theatrical concepts and terms
  - appreciation of texts.

Some examinations include an individual oral assessment.

For further analysis and C.S.E. syllabuses in drama see, for example, Schools Council Bulletin (1974 ) Examination in Drama.

## 9 Extra curricular drama

The figures I have given refer only to drama done within the timetable, and to this extent they do not convey the full range of drama work being done in schools. The majority of teachers arrange a variety of extra-curricular drama clubs and societies. The following list is typical of many I received attached to the questionnaire:

- Lower School Drama Club (usually a 'Christmas Happening')
- Middle School Drama Club (2 hours per week - evening activity)
- Upper School Drama Club (2 hours per week - evening activity)
- Fifth Year Drama/music/poetry (2 hours per week. 4 - 6pm)
- Regular Theatre Visits (at least one every week)
- Normally two school plays per year, these may be improvised entirely by the children; modern (Billy Liar); or traditional (Midsummer Night's Dream).

10 Questionnaire and notes for teachers

# DRAMA IN EDUCATION QUESTIONNAIRE - PART I

You should complete this questionnaire by either filling in your answer in the appropriate box or circling the answer that you think is most appropriate.

## The School

1. Name: .....
- Address: .....  
.....
- L.E.A: .....
- Please give your centre number 

--	--	--	--	--

## 2. Type of School

Secondary Modern	1	Comprehensive	4	Maintained	
Grammar	2	Direct Grant	5	i. County	7
Technical	3	Independent	6	ii. Voluntary	8
6th Form College	9	Other	0		

Is the school?

Denominational 1 Non-Denominational 2

## 3. The School Catchment Area:

From which kind of area are your pupils predominantly drawn?

Central Urban	1	Urban	3
Suburban	2	Rural	4

## 5. Which are the Predominant occupations of parents in the school catchment area?

Professional	1	Non-Manual/Clerical	6
Managerial	2	Unemployed	7
Self-Employed	3	Service, Agricultural	8
Semiskilled/	4	Unskilled Manual	9
Skilled Manual			
Armed Forces	5		

## 6. What is the most usual form of accommodation for children in the area?

Terraced houses	1	Maisonette Flats	3
Detached houses	2	Semi-Detached houses	4
Tenement Flats	5		



7. Please give approximate numbers of each of the following in each year group: YEAR

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Number of BOYS								
Number of GIRLS								

8. Please state total number of Children in each year whose parents are not native to Britain:

YEAR							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

9. Classes:

Please indicate with a tick the approximate average size of classes in each year group:

	YEAR							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Under 10								
10 - 15								
15 - 20								
20 - 25								
25 - 30								
30 - 35								
35 - 40								
Over 40								

10. Streaming:

- a. Please indicate for each year group whether the children are:

	YEAR							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Unstreamed.								
Streamed according to Subject Options.								
Streamed by assessed ability.								

- b. If streamed according to ability, please indicate whether for each year this is assessed by:

	YEAR							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Examination Performance								
Intelligence Testing								
Continuous Assessment by Staff.								

11. Is Drama work organised in Your School? Yes No

1 2

If YES

Would you be willing to complete the rest of the questionnaire?

Yes No

1 2

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

A restriction on the value of any questionnaire is that only a limited number of responses can be allowed for. If you feel that any question seeking factual information (answerable by a tick) does not present an opportunity to give a clear picture of your particular situation, please answer it as fully as possible and mention your reservations or qualifications in the Further Comments section on page 11.

The questions are divided into the following areas:

- STAFFING (Specialist/Non Specialist Drama Teachers)
- TIMETABLING (Time allotted for Drama; size of groups)
- ASSESSMENT & EXAMINATION
- THEATRE & EDUCATION (Contact with groups; comments)
- DRAMA POLICY
- FACILITIES FOR DRAMA
- FURTHER COMMENTS

Every effort has been made to make the filling-in of the questionnaire as simple and as quick as possible. With the exception of questions of policy and comment sections, all questions should be answered by putting a tick in the appropriate box(es).

PLEASE NOTE THAT QUESTIONS ON PAGES 1 - 6 REFER ONLY TO WORK DONE DURING THE NORMAL SCHOOL DAY. IF YOU WOULD LIKE TO GIVE ANY INFORMATION ABOUT EXTRA-CURRICULAR DRAMA WORK OF ANY KIND, PLEASE DO SO IN THE FURTHER COMMENTS SECTION ON PAGE 11 OR ON A SEPARATE SHEET.

QUESTION NOTES

<u>Page</u>	<u>Question</u>
-------------	-----------------

1	1	Please indicate only those year groups for whom Drama is allotted a specific time on the timetable.
---	---	---

Question Notes (continued)Staffing

1-3      4-6      The term 'Specialist' is taken to refer to a teacher who is employed specifically to take Drama work of some kind although he may have additional teaching responsibilities, e.g. English/Drama specialist.  
'Non Specialist' refers to teachers who involve themselves in Drama work with the children, but who are not specifically employed to do so.

2      3      Where there is a large variation in group sizes within any year, please indicate an average of the largest and smallest.

1-7      5-6      In this section only factual information concerning arrangements for assessment/examination and its effect on the timetable are asked for. More open questions on this area appear on Page 9.  
It is clearly impractical in a questionnaire of this size to include a comprehensive set of questions allowing for all of the various kinds of assessment currently in use. If, however, you have any printed information on assessment procedure in your school - or examination syllabuses where appropriate, which you could attach, we would be most grateful to receive them.

Theatre and Education

6-7      1-2      If you feel that a fuller explanation of the arrangements for these visits is needed, please enter it in the Comments section, together with any remarks you may like to make on the value or otherwise of these visits both to your teaching and to the children.

Drama Policy

8-9      Clearly a full statement of your views in any of these areas will be impossible in the space provided. What is hoped for here is simply a brief, unargued statement of your opinion/experiences, so that some impression may be had of the range of feeling in these areas. (See below).

Further Comments

11      Please use this space, and over the page if necessary to qualify, elaborate or refine any of your responses to any part of the questionnaire.

--	--	--	--	--

# DRAMA IN THE SCHOOL

Year

- |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |

- 

[illegible]

11

11

- |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|
|  |  |  |
|--|--|--|

1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ more than 4 ☐

- Hours per Week

5

5-10

10-15

15-20

20-25

25-30

30-35

35-40

Over

40

1

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

2

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Teacher

3

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

4

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

2.

- (c) Please indicate the approximate number of hours spent by each of these EACH WEEK teaching other subjects:

		<u>Hours per Week</u>								
		Under 5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	30-35	35-40	Over 40
Teacher	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	4	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

- (d) Please indicate whether each teacher is:

	<u>Teacher</u>			
	1	2	3	4
Teacher-trained Drama Specialist	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Teacher-trained in another subject with Drama as a subsidiary	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Graduate with P.G.C.E. in Drama	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Drama Graduate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Teacher-trained in another subject but with Drama qualifications other than P.G.C.E.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Experienced in Drama work but with no specialist qualification	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

## 5. Non-Specialist Teachers of Drama

- (a) Please indicate number of non-specialist Drama teachers :

1	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	4	<input type="checkbox"/>	5	<input type="checkbox"/>	6	<input type="checkbox"/>	over	<input type="checkbox"/>
												6	



- Year

Year

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

5.

2. If a grade of mark is given, is this based on :

	<u>Year</u>							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Continuous assessment (over a term or more)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Performance in a formal written examination	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Performance in a formal practical examination	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A mixture of practical and written	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3. Is the child's Drama work  
taken into account for the  
purpose of streaming?

	<u>Year</u>							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
NO	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

4. Does the school organise any of the following public  
examinations?

	Mode 1	Mode 2	Mode 3
CSE Theatre Arts	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CSE Drama and Theatre Arts	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CSE Drama	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GCE 'O'	<input type="checkbox"/>		

If so, in which year do the children begin work on the examination  
syllabus?

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

5. Is Drama work organised for those children who do not opt for  
the examination course? Is this compulsory or optional?

	YES	NO
compulsory	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Optional	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



6.

6. Are the children in the Drama examination streams likely to take part in the curricular Drama work during the school day, apart from the examination work?

	YES	NO
compulsory	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
optional	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7. Please indicate if CSE syllabus and examination papers are attached.

YES	NO
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Board .....

Title of Course .....

### Theatre and Education

1. How many visits to performances by professional theatre groups were organised in the last academic year for the children of each year?

	<u>Year</u>							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
more than 4	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

On the whole do you feel that these visits were worthwhile?

YES	NO
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7.

2. How many times during the last academic year did an established 'Theatre in Education' or 'Drama in Education' group visit the children of the various years?

	<u>Year</u>							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
more than 4	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

On the whole do you feel that these visits were worthwhile?

YES	NO
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comments:

1. In your view is 'DRAMA' a subject or method of teaching or neither of these ?

2. Do you feel it your responsibility as a Drama teacher to develop any specific skills in the children? What if any are they?

9.

3. Do you think that the kind of developments which you are working to bring about in the children can reasonably be measured and graded through a public examination of the CSE/GCE type?
4. If you already organise such an examination, what briefly has been its effect on your work and that of the children?
5. If you do not organise such examinations, is there a reason for this? What do you feel would be the likely effect of Drama examinations in your school, on your work and that of the children?

Facilities1. Areas used for Drama work

- (a) Please state below the names of the areas used for Drama work, and opposite each of these whether in each case they are custom built (c) adapted (a) or (u) unadapted for Drama activities. Please indicate adequate or inadequate.

Area	Name	c	a	u	Adequate	Inadequate
1	.....					
2	.....					
3	.....					
4	.....					
5	.....					
6	.....					

- (b) For what other purposes, if any, are these areas used?

1	.....
2	.....
3	.....
4	.....
5	.....
6	.....

2. Technical facilities available

- (a) Which of the following equipment is available for use in Drama work in the school and where may it be used?

	For use in area..						For use in any area
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Tape recorder							
Record player							
P/A system							
Flexible studio lighting							
Lighting board							

- (b) Do you have access to Video recording equipment? YES NO

Do you have access to Video playback equipment?


11.

3. Do you consider these facilities to be adequate? YES NO  
☐ ☐

4. Do you consider these facilities to be necessary? YES NO  
☐ ☐

Further comments

Questionnaire completed by ..... Dept.....

## APPENDIX TWO

### 1 Introduction

The following lessons are not given as examples of either good or bad practice. They comprise a number of elements which are typical of many of the lessons seen during the period of this study. They are included to illustrate a number of points made throughout the text.

Sections of the first three lessons can be seen in a 16mm colour film, Take Three, which I had joint responsibility in producing as a co-director of the Schools Council Drama Project: 10-16.<sup>1</sup> The descriptions given here are of the whole lessons including the sections which do not appear in the film.<sup>2</sup> I have chosen to use these lessons for three reasons. First, because they help to illustrate my general argument. Second, because of my personal knowledge of the schools and teachers involved, and my familiarity with these lessons. Third, because no other written analysis has been made of them.<sup>3</sup> The fourth lesson is not on film. It was taken by the teacher in lesson three, in the same school, some months earlier.

I have commented on these lessons throughout the study and do not attempt any separate evaluation of them here. This Appendix provides a description of the lessons and the context in which they took place, and also includes the teachers' own comments on them. In keeping with my general argument about the role of aims and objectives in evaluation, I have included these after the lesson description so that they can be compared with what actually took place.

### 2 Lesson one: the Essence Machine

#### 2.1 The school

Wanstead High School is in the East London Borough of Redbridge. It is an 11-18 comprehensive school with a

roll, when the lesson took place, of 1,500 pupils. It is situated in a suburban area described by the teacher as 'fairly affluent'. There are over 100 staff and of these 5 are members of the drama department. Drama lessons are taken in a number of areas including a former kitchen converted into a drama studio, the school hall, the gymnasium and a purpose-built theatre and drama studio. Drama has a long tradition in the school. All form groups have two fifty-minute periods of drama per week in the first two years. In the third year, drama is included in a block system. The pupils choose three areas of work from a choice of nine. These options last half a term so that at the end of one and a half terms they have been involved in nine areas. Each of these options is given one 110 minute lesson. For the remaining one and a half terms they choose three of the areas to study in more depth. These are each given one 110 minute period. In the fourth year pupils can opt for a two year C.S.E. Mode One course in Drama, lasting two years. A one year C.S.E. Mode Three course is available in the fifth year. Sixth formers can take the Associated Examining Board's G.C.E. courses in Theatre Arts.

## 2.2 The teacher

The lesson was taken by the Director of the Drama Department. He has been teaching drama for 16 years and has worked with all age groups from infants to adults.

## 2.3 The group

There are twenty four boys and girls in the group aged 11-12. The group is 'mixed ability'. The teacher's view of the group is that:

'..... The lesson incentive seems to belong to the children for long periods of each lesson. Their



reaction to my ideas is, in the main, positive. They seem particularly receptive to new ideas. In previous lessons they have shown their ability to conceptualise and express themselves in fairly complicated forms. They are highly motivated, having passed through the 'teacher-reaction barrier' i.e. they are no longer limited by my reactions or what they think I want. They are beginning to estimate their own contributions as being as valid as mine, which must be'.

#### 2.4 Lesson outline

- (1) The group sit in a circle. The teacher plays a short piece of electronic music. In mime, and with some key words, he acts out a brief sequence of impressions of a day on the beach.
- (2) He asks them for their individual responses to what he has been doing.
- (3) He tells them to get into groups of two or three and to discuss their strongest impressions of a summer's day.
- (4) He describes the notion of 'essence' and of 'distillation' and asks them in their groups to work on producing, through movement and sound, a machine which represents the essence of a summer's day.
- (5) He intervenes in role as the manager of the factory and, speaking on the telephone to the owner, he relays criticisms of the quality of the work being done.
- (6) In role again he cancels the order and asks instead for a machine representing the essence of a haunted house.

(7) After allowing them to work on this he brings in a teacher who has been watching at the side and introduces her as the owner of the factory. The machines give a demonstration for her. A buyer is soon to come so the quality has to be improved.

(8) He discusses the work so far with the whole group, out of role, and encourages them to pay more attention to details, and to prepare for the buyer's visit.

(9) After working further on the machines, the groups arrange themselves as in a warehouse. Three girls represent the alien visitor and watch the machines demonstrated.

(10) The whole group discuss what they have done and are asked for suggestions for new essence machines as a basis for next week's lesson.

## 2.5 The lesson

(The teacher talks to members of the group before the lesson begins. Drinking a cup of coffee. Children standing round, some sitting. Technicians making adjustments to equipment.)

T : 'Coates comes up from Somerset' (sung). How's the rest go ..... Right, come and sit down everyone, please.

Group sit in a circle. (He stands with coffee in hand and comments on 'the extraordinary circumstances this morning. I even got a second cup of coffee'. He asks them if they talked about this lesson. He moves across to take a place in the circle saying, 'I want to sit here this morning'. He sits, they look at him. He signals for a piece of music to be played through the studio's sound system).

He mimes, putting sun-glasses on and stretches out.

T : Watch. It's a beautiful day. Ice cream. Vanilla. No, coffee. Newspaper. Shingle. Coca Cola tin. Seagulls. Watch. Lie back and watch... What was all that about? Wait a minute, I'll start again. Tell me what you think it was about. No-one's going to be wrong, because it's your impression that matters. It's entirely up to you.

(He asks them to throw in ideas at random about what he was doing. They can say anything. Four contributions are made: 'hot'; 'sunbathing'; 'confusing'; 'new world'. He repeats each of these and then says that he won't repeat any more. Contributions are slow to come).

T : When I clap my hands, you've got to make a statement. You've got to say something about it, like 'rubbish', 'I don't understand'. Anything you like. Try and be as positive as possible though. Try and be as positive as possible. Say something about what you saw.

He claps. They all speak at once.

T : Here comes another hand clap. You can either repeat it or say something else. (Claps). All right. As we go round very quickly would you repeat the statement or statements you've just made.

Each member of the group makes a statement. The teacher repeats the first 'waking up' (repeats); 'going' (repeats); 'picnic' (repeats); 'day on the beach'; 'tramp lying down'; 'rubbish dump'; 'in the garden'; 'off on a desert island'; 'sunbathing'; 'on holiday'; 'very nice'; 'hot days'. (This continues round the whole group). Last boy says 'lost'.

T : Lost, yeh. Well it was interesting because you've just thrown back at me your impressions of what you saw me do. (I didn't plan that other than to say that's what I'm going to do). What in point of fact I was doing was just throwing out a series of loosely connected ideas about my impressions of a day on the beach. Okay? My impressions of a

day on the beach. (Tell me some of the things you recall about a day on the beach .

One or two members of the group offer comments: 'getting sunburnt'; 'so hot you don't know what to do with yourself'. Contributions are slow to come. The teacher says that they're blocking each other. Okay. He asks one boy to tell his impressions. He remembers cutting his foot on a piece of glass. The teacher asks him to stand in the middle of the circle and act this out. He walks across the space and trips, grasping his foot. The teacher stands and walks across in role as another boy. There is a brief exchange about what is wrong and where to get first aid. They both return to their places. The teacher asks the boy to say what really happened. He does so briefly. The teacher says okay.)

T : I want you in two's and three's to come up with your strongest impressions of a summer's day. All right?

(He stipulates that at this point they are only to discuss this. The class divides into small groups standing and sitting around the studio. The teacher walks around and joins one of the groups.)

T : When you're in a dinghy sometimes do you get great pleasure from just leaning over the side and touching the water?

G : I fall out. My brother tips me out.

T : That's a bit dangerous isn't it? Where did you go on Saturday, then?

G : Birchington.

T : What kind of sand is it? Is it fine sand or is it shingle?

G : I don't know.

T : Well you were there.

G : It's normal. I don't know what it's like.

T : There's no sand?

G : I said it's normal sand.

T : What colour is it? You saw it? Did you see it?

G : Yeh.

T : You stood on it?

G : Yeh.

T : Well what colour was it?

Other groups have begun to move about and to act-out brief sequences: swimming, etc.

(The teacher notices this and draws the whole group's attention to it. He says that some groups have started acting-out and he wants everyone 'to do just that now'. But: 'I don't want a story today. Just images, like sucking ice-cream down the cone. An enquiry, a re-call of a summer's day'. They carry on with this for a few minutes. He stops them.)

T : What we've been experimenting with, in point of fact, is even what I would describe as the essence of a subject. The subject is a summer's day and we've collected a series of impressions together. They're your impressions and they sum up for you what a summer's day is, what a summer's day is about. All right? Now we're going to call that 'essence'. The flavour. You get vanilla essence or vanilla flavour in an ice cream. So you're with me are you? When I talk about the essence of something, I'm talking about the flavour of something.

(He says that he wants them to try to distil the essence of a summer's day - to separate it out so that we can look at it.

T : You scientist's know what I mean by distillation. In layman's terms, to draw it out. Now we do this in the following way.) Imagine that I can create a machine or that you can create a machine in your group. Each group can create its own essence machine. And I want you to get into your groups in a moment and say we are going to produce the essence of a summer's day.

(He emphasises that they will become the machines, producing them through movement and sound.)

T : So for instance, if I'm one part of a machine I might suddenly go, 'Two ices please ..... two ices please, two .....'. Or I might be more complicated in my programming and say, 'Two ices please, God it's hot, keep the gravel out of me sandwich. Two ices please, God it's hot, keep the gravel out of me sandwich', and repeat the sequence over and over again, because machines repeat sequences. Are you with me?

(He says that we will give them five minutes to sort this out in groups. They move into their groups in various parts of the studio. He moves from group to group listening and talking to individuals.) He then comes to the centre of the room and says loudly so that they all listen:

T : Guy comes up to me and says, 'Hello, what are you making?' I say, 'I'm making some essence machines.' He says to me, 'You're not very good are you?' 'What do you mean?' I said, 'I'm very good, I've got some terrific essence machines. I've got one over there for instance.' Bring it into the centre. Hang on a minute, we'll bring it into the centre.'

He mimes pulling the machine into the centre of the room? Group A, four boys, begin to move with him and position themselves ready to start.

T : It comes into the centre, now it's moving further into the centre. 'Scuse me, love, please. You've come to see my essence machine have you? Right. Look at this one. I clap my hands and it sets the

whole thing in motion, you see. Do you want to see it? Okay. Let's begin'.

He claps. The group performs a brief sequence around the lines:

B1: I'm going for a swim.

B2: I'll come too.

B3: Phew, it's so hot.

B4: I want a lolly.

B1: I'm going for a swim.

B2: I'll come too.

B3: Phew it's so hot.

B4: I want a lolly.

T : I'll make it go faster.

The sequence speeds up.

T : I'll stop it. Ah. Fine, great. Guy comes up to me says, 'I don't want that one'. 'Why not, it's pretty good?' 'No, no. Think of the waste of material'. 'What do you mean waste of material?' 'Well, I mean, it was spread over a vast area. I mean, I want a machine that fits into a tight area'. Oh, I see, no waste of materials, no waste of space. Yeh, that's clear, that's clear'. 'Well, there's one thing that's not clear,' says he. 'What's that?' 'Well, didn't you notice that when the thing was working how even you couldn't quite get the product that was coming out from over there because it was sort of speaking at the same time as that one and it was a bit blurred?' 'So you want it to be clearer do you?' 'Yeh'. 'Right, okay'. He goes off, closes, the door and expects the whole thing to happen.

The groups carry on working with the idea.

The teacher leaves them to do so for several minutes.

He then comes to the centre of the room again miming holding a telephone to his ear. He says in a loud voice.

T : Cancel that order! What? Cancel that order! Why? You don't want an essence of summer machine. What kind then? Erm? Essence of ..... a haunted house? Essence of haunted house? Oh, I don't know. See what I can do. Yeh. Okay. Thank you.

The groups begin to discuss this new idea and then begin to work on it. Group B has two boys and two girls.

B1: I'll be the ghost.

G1: I'll do a scream.

B1: I'll be the ghost.

G1: I'll do a scream. I wanna do a scream.

B1: I'll be the ghost.

B2: No that'll be too loud.

G1: Just one more scream.

G2: Right. Be a devil.

G1: (to B1) You be the ghost.

G2: Let's go into a door and do it creaking.

G1: Go, 'open the door'.

B2: Yeh, he comes up.

G2: Yeh.

G1: You go 'open the door' and then he goes 'whoo' and then I scream, and then I go 'let him go away' and he goes 'Shh' he goes 'Shh'.

(The teacher comes to the centre again. Another teacher has come in to watch the lesson and is standing in the gantry running round the studio. He shouts to her asking what she thinks, as the owner of the factory. She replies, as a seemingly disembodied voice from above, that they lack detail. They're too stiff. The groups listen to this and then carry on working.)



The teacher comes to the centre of the room speaking on the 'telephone'.

T : Well I didn't know you were coming in did I? Well if I'd known you were coming into the factory to look at these machines, just a second, if I'd known you were coming to look at these machines I'd have been here to see you. Any way you've had a look around, what do you think of them? What do you mean they're rubbish? No, I thought they were working extremely well. What's wrong with them? Expressions? What do you mean, 'expressions'? Oh, I see, you mean the bits where their faces are, they were smiling and that's got nothing to do with a haunted house. Could be. Yes, they could be mad. They can't all be mad. You don't think that the people that are making these essence machines are thinking enough about all the component parts? You think that they should be what? Sort of more into it like? You mean that they could use their hands more and their fingers and their teeth and their eyes. You mean the whole body instrument could become more part of the thing instead of them all sort of giggling? Well look, next time you come into the blinking factory let me know you're coming in will you? I'll show you round. You're very odd looking? I might be scared? Go on. I won't be scared. No. Yeh, I'll I'll erm programme the machines to do what you've just suggested. Okay? Right, thank you.

He puts the 'phone' down.

T : Yeh, try to make the whole thing more convincing. Expression. Yeh. That'll do. I'll put that in.

He mimes pressing several buttons.

T : That should do it.

The groups carry on working. Group B continue with their sequence. (The teacher intervenes and asks the groups to set up their machines for a demonstration. They arrange themselves in starting positions around the studio. He brings in the other teacher to see the machines. He says that he was going to show them to her one at a time. But as time is short he asks her to see

them all in motion by counting down and clapping her hands. She does so. After a few moments she stops them. He asks her what she thinks of them. She says that they are still too simple. He says they should be left to it and they will go to lunch.

T : I'll close the door and then we'll come back and let them bring them into the middle.

They 'go out' to the side of the room.) He comes directly back into the centre of the room.

T : Okay, and break. Could you all come very quickly and sit just about here? Quickly. I really feel at last that the lesson is beginning to take off because we're beginning to get some interesting ideas.

(He says that they have also got a story-line developing. An alien visitor coming to see his machines being made. He asks them what they think of the comment being made about their work. Two pupils say that these are fair comments.)

T : Yeh, if we're going to capture the essence of something it's, got to be purely that and it's got to, in a short instant, it's got to make an emphatic statement, a statement which is undeniable. I've got one group that simply is going, 'Ahh, Ahh', all the time. All right? What if they went 'Ahh, Uh', Quiet, steps. Where? Over there. 'Ahh, Uh', quiet, steps. Where? Over there'. In other words you're making the programming much more complicated.

(He asks them to carry on and then 'we'll come back after, lunch and carry on with the story.)

T : By the way, erm, I will want two or three of you to come out of your characters and be something else. You'll get the idea when I come in. I want two or three of you to be sort of mad assistants as in an 'X' film, you know. Horrible and ..... Okay?

You'll have a go at that will you? Fine. Make your machines more complicated.

The groups re-form and carry on working. Group B:

G2: Right, ready. Let's open the door.

B1: Come in, if you dare.

B2: Shhhh. Be quiet.

G2: Let's open the door.

B1: Come in if you dare.

B2: Shhhh. Be quiet.

G2: Come on let's explore.

B1: You have been warned.

G1: I'm frightened.

B2: Me foot's stuck.

G2: Come on, let's explore.

B1: You have been warned.

B2: My foot's stuck.

G2: Let's open the door.

T : Great, that's fine, now I thought that your bodies at the moment tended to be very ordinary. You know my foot's stuck you can get much more angular movements. That door's opening I mean, you know.

He makes a creaking noise.

T : You know. Okay. Fine. And you've got some nice lines but at the moment I still haven't got that, erm, yeh ..... What about the hair? I mean you're not using hair right. Ah, great. You're not using your hair right. Fine. Okay.

(He turns to the whole group and tells them that they're not concerned this morning with feeling but with what it looks like: the externals. He asks them to use different levels more. The groups carry on.)

The teacher intervenes and speaks to the whole group.

T : Now we're coming to the you know real peak of the lesson, okay? We've got all our vocabulary. We've got all our ideas together. Let's draw all these ideas together now and make some kind of splendid cathedral where all these machines are. Listen. There's this pulsating. And they're all standing absolutely still. And I bring in the visitor. This area here is clear. Okay? I can press a button and the machine disintegrates and materialises in the centre. I then press another button and it starts working. But initially, when I open these vast doors and bring in my visitor, what she sees, what it sees, is this great tomb of machinery.

(He asks for complete stillness, no fidgeting. He brings in the other teacher and asks her to 'look around and see what I've made'. He gets them all to work at once for a minute and then stops them. He says that he will move some of them into the centre. He presses the 'disintegrator button' and brings Group B into the centre. He asks the other teacher to close the studio door. She does and the lights are also dimmed.) Group B show their essence machine in action. He then 'disintegrates' their machine and brings Group A into the centre.

T : We have an assistant, Boris. Boris, I can't find the lever on this machine. It's in the what? Well get it, you idiot. How are we going to see this machine if we don't show how well organised we are, now fix it up. For goodness sake hurry up. Right. Now get working on it. It's beginning to move. Good.

B1: Death is at the haunted house for those who choose to come.

B2: No, no, not us.

B3: It's all right my dear fellow, nothing will happen to you.

B4: (Grabs his neck from behind).

Repeats twice and then is stopped.

(The teacher selects three girls to function as an alien visitor and asks them to arrange themselves in 'an alien shape'. He is not going to be in it. A boy is chosen to act as their guide. A third group performs a machine for them.)

G1: Wonderful.

B1: Thank you my dear friends.

G2: Worth a visit.

B1: I'm sure it is. Would you like to see some more?

G3: Yes.

B1: You would?

G3: Yes.

(Teacher intervenes and says that they have laid on some refreshments for the visitors on the verandah. They go out.)

T : Fine can we have everyone back into the light quickly. Light on please. Quickly, gather. That was an hour. An hour's lesson. Don't get dressed for a second. I rambled a bit this morning, again underestimating your ability to pick up ideas very quickly. It's one of my favourite ideas this essence machine because it gets us thinking about the quality of things. When you say something, are you speaking with enough clarity? Are you using the right words? Are you employing the right gesture? Are you with me? So when we come back to this idea next week I'd like to play around with some more ideas about essence machines. Can you give me some titles for some new essence machines? Essence of a summer's day. Essence of a haunted house. Essence of an 'X' film.

A number of suggestions are made including: essence of murder; essence of life; essence of space; essence of religion; Northern Ireland; crime; and essence of destruction.

T : Essence of destruction or essence of a destructive device, a war machine, yeh. So let's use this vehicle next week and next week I think you'll take the vehicle over. I might come in and say, 'Right, let's do some essence machines, kids' and you'll know exactly what the rules and regulations are, because that's what you've been learning today. That's what you've been learning today. Right. Thanks for a good lesson. I'll see you all ..... tomorrow?

Lesson ends.

## 2.6 Teacher's intentions

The teacher's objectives in this lesson were:

- (1) To concentrate the group on learning to handle:
  - (a) the concept of a machine;
  - (b) the relationship between mechanical movement and their own physical movement;
  - (c) the use of repetition/sequence;
  - (d) the selection of precise statements, both verbal and physical which they judge to be relevant to the subject selected.
- (2) To teach the children to manipulate ideas.
- (3) To teach the children to allow themselves to be manipulated.

## 2.7 Teacher's comments

The teacher emphasises the importance of this third objective. He means by it:

' ..... extending their ability to submerge their own wills by accepting other people's ideas and learning how to use them. Group interaction goes deeper than simply a dialogue of ideas. It is also a willingness to

adopt and build upon other's ideas in favour of your own. There is an excitement and enjoyment in being 'selfless' - i.e. being able to 'let go' and open up. It is through this that they become more receptive, which is the vital source of creativity. I believe the emphasis in drama should be on attitude throughout the work rather than on aptitude. The core of dramatic activity is not within the person; it is within the dialogue'.

The teacher had planned the overall structure of the lesson and had used the idea with other pupils. He was prepared to change the pattern of the lesson according to the pupils' responses and his to them. He had decided beforehand to use the 'summer's day' and 'haunted house' themes. He had decided on the size of the groups, and also that he would himself take on symbolic roles during the lesson.

'..... I am a creative person in my own right. I see all drama work as a sharing experience, not just amongst the children but between all the participants, including myself. I must therefore feel free to move between objective and subjective attitudes, so that the interaction between us is relevant: i.e. totally allied to the business in question. The reason for structuring in general is that it distances us from each other. Although I had decided to start off by giving them my impressions of a summer's day - hence the creative/manipulative role - I had not decided how my role would develop from there. The idea of using the telephone arose during the lesson'.

In general he felt that he had achieved his objectives in the lesson, particularly with respect to the amount of negotiation which took place in the groups. He felt that the film crew were not relevant to the structure and purposes of the lesson and so made no attempt to

involve them (c.f. lesson three). Nevertheless their presence may have enhanced the concentration of the group.

In the following lesson with this group he intended to pursue the idea of a war machine. He began by reading a war poem. As the lesson went on the pupils' interest grew in the inanimate nature of machines, and this led into a discussion about the industrial revolution and man's relationships to machines in general.

### 3 Lesson two: Crossroads

#### 3.1 The school

South Molton is a 10-16 comprehensive school in a small market town in north Devon. The school serves a wide agricultural area. Many of the children come from farming families. At the time of the lesson there were 500 pupils and 24 staff at the school. Drama is taught as part of the English department's work but is timetabled separately. Each pupil has one eighty minute period of drama per week during the first three years at the school. Drama is available as a C.S.E. option in the fourth and fifth years and is given one 105 minute and one forty five minute lesson per week. Drama is taken either in classrooms, involving moving desks and chairs aside, or as in this case, in the large school hall.

#### 3.2 The teacher

The lesson was taken by the Head of the English Department who is responsible for drama in the school. She has been teaching at the school for six years.

#### 3.3 The group

There are eleven pupils in the group, aged 15-16: ten girls and one boy. This was the group's final lesson together after completing the two-year drama option.



The lesson took place after a break of four weeks due to examinations. There were eighteen members in the full option group. Seven had left school to take jobs between the end of examinations and this lesson taking place. The group had spent a good deal of time over the two years looking at personal relationships and social issues. They had also discussed problems encountered during the course. The teacher said this had resulted in an open and honest relationship in the group, 'in which feelings can be expressed without fear or embarrassment'. The emphasis on discussion had led to less time being spent on presentation and the other skills of drama work. As a result the pupils needed still to be reminded:

'..... to trust in the drama work to lead them to conclusion instead of allowing themselves to become bogged down in discussion'.

### 3.4 Lesson outline

- (1) The teacher asks the group to walk round the room and to find a space on their own.
- (2) She tells them that they are at a crossroads. She gives each of them a piece of paper with four roads marked on it - rough, smooth, twisting and straight - and asks them to choose which road through life they want to take. There are also some beginnings of sentences which she asks them to complete explaining their choice.
- (3) In pairs, they act-out a meeting with an old friend, twenty years from now.
- (4) Whole group discussion about choice and ambitions for the future.
- (5) She asks them in groups of three or four to take the title 'Crossroads' and to work on a dramatic statement based on any aspect of the work they have done so far. She is especially interested in 'the shape the work takes'.
- (6) The groups work on this idea for 25 minutes

with the teacher moving from one group to the next.

(7) The whole group comes together to tell each other what they have been doing and to discuss their feelings about it.

### 3.5 The lesson

The group come into the hall and sit on two rostra blocks. The teacher draws their attention to the technicians and says that she is not sure what effect this will have on the lesson.

T : I wanted to try and find a lesson that in some way, I don't know, would be relevant to what you are doing at the moment. And at the moment it's the whole thing of leaving school, finishing with one section of life and moving hopefully to another section. And let's start. Okay. Seeing it's our last drama lesson ..... find a space.

They stand up and move to various parts of the hall and stand waiting. She asks them to spread out a little more. She asks them to walk around the room and not to look at anybody else. They do so. She asks them to stop.

T : This time when you walk around the room, I want you to try to put yourself specifically in some place. Now it's going to be a place where you're not likely to meet anybody else. You're going to be entirely on your own. Also try to build some picture up in your head as you're moving around, weather, heat, what you can see around you. Okay? Off you go.

They walk round as before.

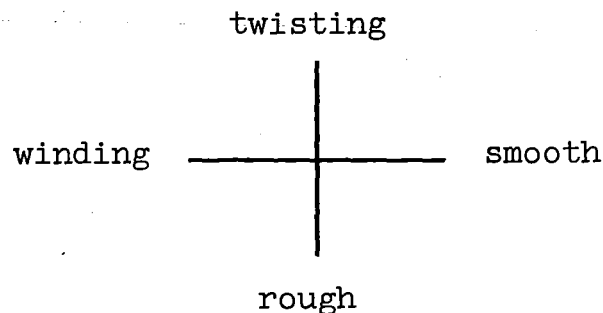
T : You're going somewhere, for some reason. Not sure where. And eventually you're going to come to a crossroads. When you reach it I want you to stop and sit down.

She waits until each of them has stopped.

T : You're not sure which road to take. You can go back the way you've come from or you've got three more paths that you can go along ..... The road that you take's very important. It's very important

because the decision that you make now, at this time, determines what's going to happen in the years ahead ..... In order to make that decision I want you just to sit very quietly and think over the past five years'.

As they sit she goes to each of them and gives a piece of paper and a pencil. The paper is marked with a crossroads:



T : When you're ready to, look at the paper. It's got the four roads on it. You have to choose one of these roads ..... Really I think just in order to help you to decide, I've written some beginnings of sentences and I want you to fill those in.

The sentences began: 'When I'm older I want .....': 'I want my life to be .....': and so on. She moves from one to another asking them to write more or to think more deeply about what they have written. She asks all of them to read over what they have written and to ask, 'Is that really what I mean?' (After ten minutes she asks them to take their pens and papers to the side and to wait quietly until everyone has done so.)

T : Let's take it that you're still yourself, the person you are now. Okay? Rosemary, Ruth, Lisa, still yourselves. But this time it's twenty years in the future. Right? Thirty - what? Five? Six? Good age. Right. Erm. I want you to find a partner first of all. Without doing too much, could you just establish eye contact with somebody? Kind of do a little wave or something. Right? Anybody not got any friends? Two, four, six, eight, ten, eleven. Somebody hasn't got a friend. Right.

Call yourselves A and B. Right. Erm. We always have A's doing the work. Let's have B's doing the work. B, I want you to get a chair and sit somewhere in the room with it. A, will you hover round the background somewhere? A's are going to come up and meet B's. A's in fact went away as soon as they left school. Moved away completely. Haven't been back since. Still clear? They're going to come back now and they're going to meet the person in the chair. Be aware of the time passage. Be aware that people don't stay the same for twenty years. And that's important. I think it's going to take a couple of minutes for you to think about this. It's bound to be artificial. I mean you don't just suddenly meet somebody after twenty years so it's bound to be a bit artificial. Don't let that worry you.

They move into their pairs and briefly discuss what they are to do. The boy who could not find a partner has joined two of the girls. They set out three chairs. One sits. The other girl and the boy walk over and join her.

G1: You remind me of somebody ..... I can't remember your name. Gussy. Wasn't that your nickname? You look just your shabby self.

G2: All right, you was always getting at me about my size.

G1: What've you done? You were , er, you were gonna work in a hospital weren't you, when I left?

G2: I've worked in shops, I've worked in factories, I've worked everywhere.

(The teacher watches the group and intervenes. They feel that they began talking too easily and quickly.)

T : I feel that's important. I mean I met somebody over this holiday that I hadn't seen for what, oh, eleven years. And it was impossible to talk to each other, absolutely impossible. It was just embarrassing.

G1: I think when we were doing it, we ..... there should have been more silences actually because I think if I came back in twenty years time and

saw Gussy I wouldn't be talking like I did then.

T : Okay.

B : You wouldn't come straight out with it. It'd be more awkward.

T : Shall we try the same thing again with the same people or try it with somebody else? Same people?

G1: Yeh. Can we think about it first?

T : Yeh. Chat a bit more about it.

She moves away to another group.

G2: We mustn't be so ..... sort of jump in so quickly. When you think about something you sort of sit there and think, 'Nw wait a minute. Did I get that memory right or wrong.' You don't just suddenly sort of spout forth all these words. You think about it first.

G1: I think usually when you're in ..... when you're in a conversation with somebody you haven't seen for a long time you, you automatically ask them what they're doing now, don't you?

G2: Like what you been doing while you've been away sort of thing.

G1: In your case you ain't been doing 'nothin'.

As the pupils continue to work on this the teacher intervenes and speaks to them all.

T : I'd like you to try this again when you've chatted enough. If you've got problems though see me first. And if you don't, if you want to change it round so that A hasn't always stayed here, you know, Lisa and Ruth said they both thought they'd go away. So, they can both meet somewhere else. Right? So change it round if you like.

(She watches them at work from the side of the room for several minutes and then walks over to a pair of the girls and asks them what they have been doing.)

G3: We sat here first of all, I just said good afternoon, it's a lovely day you know. And, you know, we sort of kept looking at each other out of the corner of our eyes thinking, I think I've seen her somewhere before..... You know, and then we started to talk but we - we was too friendly after too short a time, I think. Because when you meet somebody else after twenty years I don't think you just burst into song and say, Oh .....

G4: Oh, I dunno, you could do.

G3: I dunno, well it's difficult for us because Sharon's going away and I'm staying.

T : There must be some strain. Yes or no?

G3/4 Yeh.

T : And you've got to try and say how can I express that strain. The words you use. What other things can you have?

G3: Silence.

T : Silence. Would you like to try it the other way round?

G3: Yeh, I think we'd better.

The teacher walks away and watches them and the other groups from the side of the room. G4 stands up and walks to the side of the room and then walks back to her partner.

G4: Do you mind if I sit down?

G3: No, no, be my guest ..... Lovely weather isn't it?

G4: Yes, beautiful .....

G3: Hope it stays like it .....

G4: Have you lived in these parts long?

G3: Oh yes, quite a while now. Yeh. Thirty years at least. Yeh. Brought up my family here as well ..... You?

G4: No, I don't live here ..... Well, I was here when I was at school but I moved away.

G3: Which school did you go to?

G4: South Molton Comprehensive.

G3: So did I.

G4: Really?

G3: Yeh.

G4: Oh.

G3: ..... Coincidence .....

G4: What subjects did you do?

G3: Oh, I can't remember, it's such a long time ago.  
Erm, I know I wasn't much good at any of them.

G4: That makes two of us.

(The teacher intervenes with the whole group calling them together. They sit in a circle. She asks them if any of them is prepared to read out part of what they have written: to say which path they chose and why. This develops into a discussion - twenty minutes long - in which the teacher asks:

What do you want and expect from your lives?;

Is unhappiness necessary?;

Is struggle necessary?;

What worries you about the future?

They also discuss their different interpretation of the four terms. A 'smooth' life could mean unhappiness for one: boredom for another. She says she would like them to explore some of these ideas further.)

T : Take the title 'Crossroads'. Forget about Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday night, please. Ruth, being an addict. .... Try .... Okay. Okay. Try to work out, almost as you did with 'Edges' that other week, where you take the obvious and explore it in different ways, and the obvious of the crossroads is ..... the roads parting. Try to take another aspect of it, look at it from a different way. If you want to use any blocks, get them. What I'm interested in looking at is, obviously what you have to say in your piece of work, and through your piece of work ..... but especially the kind of shape that your work takes.

They form into three groups. Group one, two girls and the boy, set out a block and sit on it. They spend ten minutes discussing various possibilities:

- G5: You go on to crossroads and you've come to it before, you've taken one road and then you go on that road and you don't like it so you come back again. You're taking another road .....
- G6: It depends what time of life you are. Like if you're ..... like we are, just about to leave school, well I think you can't obviously go backwards. Well I don't think you can .....
- B : Well you come along the crossroads and you go one way and there's me and they say 'What's it like, round here?' and I say, 'Well, it's great' and you go the other way and they say 'What's it like round here?' and Ruth says, 'Oh, it's fantastic'.....
- G5: You've got to make the decision of either going with the ones that you know about or people have told you about. I mean, they could be lying, couldn't they?
- G6: You might find that you don't like either of those two roads and come back the same way that, way as you came .....
- G5: If you ..... get into the crossroads situation you know and you all go off in different ways and then you ..... meet up again ..... No, I don't like that.

The teacher comes over to the group.

T : Try not to talk too much ..... right. Or else you'll get bogged down.

G5: Yeh, we're trying.

T : To get bogged down?

G5: No, not to talk too much.

B : We are bogged down.

T : You are bogged down?

B : Yeh.

T : Right, well, get back up again.



She walks away and leaves them in their discussion. She sits at the side and watches all three groups at work. After five minutes she walks over to a second group of four girls, who are also sitting talking. She asks them where they have got to and she is told that they are trying to decide between two ideas. She asks them to explain to her what the two ideas are, 'then everybody's sure what the ideas are to begin with'.

G3: Right. There's three roads. She can borrow it, steal it or earn it.

G4: Not earn it, buy it.

G3: Buy it. And she's going to turn round to each one of us in turn and we're each going to put our case forward as to say why we think not, not knock anybody, not say 'Oh, I wouldn't borrow it if I was you' or, 'I wouldn't steal it, I'd earn it', just say why you think your idea is the best.

T : Okay. Let's try, try ..... hear briefly the other one.

Several speak at once. Then,

G2: Somebody has to come out on top. Somebody's got to win so that a decision has been made. We don't, we don't, we don't want to leave the decision unmade.

G3: I don't think, I don't think that the piece of work should just come to an end just like that. Somebody's won and that's it.

T : But, look. Haven't you now perhaps spent two, three four minutes arguing about something you could have actually gone in and tried and if it hadn't worked, you know, throw it away.

G1: We think that we should knock each other's. Lyn thinks that we shouldn't knock each other, if you know what I mean.

They all speak at once.

T : Well why don't you trust it to actually what happens? The only way is if you actually work through what you're saying.

They agree to do this. One girl sits cross-legged on the rostrum. The others stand facing her on different sides. There is a pause.

G1: Well, just take it. You don't have to ..... do anything with it. I mean it's just ..... there and you just take it. It's yours.

G2: Are you sure it's simple?

G1: Course it is. You see something you want, you just ..... pick it up and take it.

G4: Why not buy it?

G1: Why?

G4: You can keep it, it's yours. Rightfully yours. Pleasure of spending money and buying it.

G3: Why not listen to me? Why not borrow it? It wouldn't cost you anything. You'd have no conscience. And you could always give it back again afterwards ..... Don't listen to them. They don't know what they're talking about. Steal it she says. You'd have a conscience for the rest of your life. Buy it? You'd have an empty pocket. Why not borrow it?

G2: Well, if you're going to start being like that. There are disadvantages of borrowing it you know. For a start, what if she breaks it?

G4: Why don't you listen to me. At least I'm the sensible one here, I don't argue. I know a lot more than you do.

The teacher watches this and then asks the girl sitting in the centre:

T : Sandra, what are you going to do?

G1: To be honest, I don't know.

T : Why?

G1: Because ..... all three, steal, buy and borrow, they all present different cases to me and ..... its ..... you've just got to think a lot before you make a decision.

(The teacher calls the whole group together and asks them if they would prefer to show each other their work or discuss it. They prefer to discuss.)

T : Nobody produced a piece of work they liked?

Several: No.

T : No. Right.

G4: Well, I liked ours a little bit.

G3: I don't know, ours was all right. (Laughter).

G4: It wasn't the best piece of work we've ever done.

G3: It was hard to get into but once we was into it I think ..... I think.....

T : Well it was going to go so disastrous afterwards I thought I'd better stop it while it was going well.

G4: How do you know?

T : I'm only joking. (Laughter). Lisa, you liked your little bit.

G5: Yeh. I just said there's a Chinese puzzle in front, I think there's a Chinese puzzle in front of me. One of those things with elastic that goes zip zap, like that, and you've got to get through it. And then there was, er, a star, a circle and a triangle. And I was saying, 'Well I can get through this Chinese puzzle 'cos I'm oblong shaped. I can also get through the triangle because I can go like that and get through the triangle, put myself at an angle and go like that and get through the triangle'. And then Ruth was saying, 'Well I can't get through the triangle because I'm round so I've got to go through the circle'.

T : Had you planned this beforehand or was it just straight off?

They say it was unplanned.

T : Okay. What did you see yourself as, Ruth?

G6: I didn't know. I had a happy life and an unhappy life, you know, because I, you know, where I was

round, you see and the points kept poking into me and that's ..... you know, where I was unhappy, really ..... you know, was hurt. But I had relief quite a lot of times then I was happy. But at the end of it I didn't really know what I ..... you know what life was all about and I didn't know what I ..... had after all that really. I just didn't know what I'd achieved .....

- G5: So I thought, 'Well, I'll go through the triangle'. And when I got into the triangle I thought, 'What am I going to do now?' So I walked around and picked up a Chine..... er a triangular hair slide to put in my hair and looked in a triangular mirror. And then I sat down. I thought, 'Oh, I can't move'. Because I had my legs up in a triangular position. And Andrew came back to the crossroads and was sitting back on the rostra..... He was just saying, 'Uh. You can't move can you?' And he was pushing me ..... which ..... this is the funny bit, 'Which area of you's on the floor?' I said, 'Well, it's my widest area'.

(The teacher asks other members of the group to explain in turn the work they had done. The third group had been working on the themes of 'unemployment', 'marriage' and 'college' as possibilities for them in the future. She asks them all:)

- T : What happens say you're making a different decision, another decision, a different decision. You know, say Jenny's trying to make a decision and Sue, Rosemary, Marlene, are all coming in. To what extent do you think you're influenced ..... by what they say and other people say?
- G6: People influence your decision whatever way because, erm, they advise you. If they've done it before they say 'Oh, do that,' or other people say, 'Well, I shouldn't do that'.
- G2: Yeh, like if you're sat in a group who all say they 'like one thing and you don't like it but you say you like it because everybody else does to keep the peace.
- T : You're not prepared to show yourself up, you know, if you say you don't like something and everyone else thinks it's great you feel a bit of a fool don't you? ..... I've done that myself hundreds of times in the past I've said I've liked things I haven't liked and disliked things that I liked

because I would've felt a fool otherwise. Erm, I don't think there's many of us always have the courage to stand up if we feel a fool ..... The whole kind of decision making ..... how much we're influenced by other people. Look, we're going to have to stop, it's five past four.

### 3.6 Teacher's intentions

The teacher was conscious that there had been a four week gap between this and the previous lesson and also that this was the group's last lesson. She had three objectives:

- (1) to explore with them, in some depth, the crossroads that people approach and the decisions they are faced with;
- (2) to think about their own hopes and expectations for the future and project into these;
- (3) to challenge/develop their thinking through abstract situations.

### 3.7 Teacher's comments

After two years' work with the group the teacher saw her role as 'an initiator of a line of thought'. She felt it essential that at some point in each lesson the pupils were 'left alone to battle with their own problems and hopefully to find their own solutions'. She makes a point of leaving groups to work on their own as much as possible, so as:

To give them the freedom to succeed with a piece of work that is entirely their own. I will enter if a group is really lost or unable to resolve the clash of personalities ..... I am aware that by intervening more I might help the group to produce better drama. But at the same time I am aware that I am robbing them of their own sense of personal achievement.

She had not planned the final discussion. The group's decision to talk about, rather than show, their work might have had something to do with the presence of the film crew. But this was not untypical of them. She felt that the lesson,

'..... raised some important areas of concern. No group had the complete satisfaction of producing a piece of work that really meant something to them, which was frustrating. However, there were moments when individuals were struggling very hard to understand and express ideas that were important to them. For example, one of the quietest girls, who is a devout Christian, found herself alone trying to defend the 'rough' path in life. The drama had presented that situation and dilemma to her and given her the courage to put forward her ideas in the face of opposition.'

#### 4 Lesson three: Factory

##### 4.1 The school

Primrose Hill is a 13-16 comprehensive school. It is set in a multi-racial area in the centre of Leeds. There are 800 pupils at the school, approximately 70% of whom are from West Indian or Asian families. The school is on two sites. Drama lessons take place in two classrooms converted into a studio on the top floor of a Victorian annexe, half a mile from the main building. In the first year at the school all pupils have one fifty minute lesson of drama per week. In the second year they can opt for a C.S.E. Mode III course for which they receive one fifty and one 110 minute period.

There is a truancy problem at the school and a sometimes difficult relationship with parents. The head teacher believed that drama could help to improve the atmosphere in the school and relations between the school and community.

#### 4.2 The teacher

The teacher was appointed to the school as a drama specialist two years before this lesson took place. He is the only drama teacher in the school. His brief was to 'get drama off the ground and integrated into the rest of the curriculum'.

#### 4.3 The group

The group consists of twenty four fourth year pupils aged fourteen to fifteen. When the lesson took place they were coming to the end of the first year of the drama option. The school is fed by five middle schools. This means that pupils have very varied experiences and expectations of drama. Many of this group had had no experience of this work before coming to this school. They had been working with this teacher for one and a half terms.

'..... Although there is a strong nucleus of well-motivated pupils, giving the group a firm identity, the class has changed in composition since the start of the course and this has created difficulties. Two of the original pupils left the course - both had dominant personalities - and four pupils were admitted at points throughout the year. Also many pupils are difficult absentee problems and their irregular attendance has also presented difficulties in continuity within the work.'

#### 4.4 Lesson outline

- (1) The group sits in a circle. The teacher tells them that they're going to make up a play and that he will be in it. It is going to be quite complicated.
- (2) They go through some preliminary games 'to warm up' - shaking hands, a chasing game, etc.
- (3) He explains to the group back in the circle that the play will be set in a factory in the future. He will be in control of it with two

assistants to be chosen out of the group. He asks them in groups to invent a job they might be doing in the factory. It must be difficult work. He gives them three minutes to work on this. They will be using this in the play.

(4) He brings them back to the circle and says that the nature of the work will be unknown to them: they just have to do as they are told. There will be one more exercise and then the play will start.

(5) He will play a piece of music. They must wander alone round the room forgetting all they know. When the music stops the play has started.

(6) He plays the music and then comes in as 'the professor'. He calls a meeting of the workers and tells them that they have been conditioned to do some work. He selects two of the group to be his assistants. He sends the rest back to work and tells his assistants that the purpose of the factory is to 'take away the lives' of criminals and old people. Their job is to increase the efficiency of the workers.

(7) He and his assistant circulate in role. Some of the workers complain about conditions. He calls a meeting and threatens to discipline those who complain.

(8) One of the workers collapses. He calls a meeting to draw attention to this and to say that as she is clearly not up to the work, her life must be taken away. Any questions?

(9) They are outraged and refuse to work. Production breaks down and the professor, through a series of heated exchanges, is eventually obliged to reveal the purpose of the factory. They threaten to overrun him.

(10) With two minutes of the lesson to go, he calls a halt. Out of role, they discuss what has happened.



#### 4.5 The lesson

The group sit in a circle, in the drama studio. The teacher tells them that they are going to do something quite difficult today and he does not know if it is going to work.

T : I'm going to ask you to do a couple of exercises, couple of games just to begin with. Erm. And the first thing I want you to do now is just to put all the 'chairs away ..... to the sides of the room. Out of the way ..... Yeh, now another thing, it's very bright in here. You're going to have to get used to that. I'm going to give you about sixty seconds, all right, sixty seconds and in that sixty seconds, I want you to try to shake hands with everybody in the room. Except me. Leave me out of it. I want you to shake hands with everybody in the room. I don't care if they're holding a camera or a piece of equipment, I said every single person including yourselves in the room. Inside sixty seconds. I'm going to count down and really see if you can do it. If you can do it..... you're a freak. Five, four, three, go now.

They run round the room with a lot of laughter and shouting. (He stops them after sixty seconds and then tells them that they have thirty seconds to slap everyone's bottom in the room. This also leads to a lot of chasing and laughter.)

T : All right, Annette, I know you enjoy it. Relax. Right, now then, I'm speeding things up. We're just doing a few exercises. I'm going to give you another ..... I'm going to give you about thirty seconds, no chance to think, no chance to think, you've got to do this very quickly. Look, there's a camera here. He's my cameraman. All right? I'm gonna stand next to him, he's my cameraman. Erm, I want you to form..... a wedding party. It's got to be in a group photo. I'm gonna count down. Make it about thirty seconds then I want a photograph. Bride's family on one side, groom's family on the other side. You sort it out, I want a photograph. Get ready to pose. Got to see every face in the photo. Five, four, three, two, one, still. This wedding party now, being photographed, really are cheesed off because they've just heard that there's going to be no party afterwards, no booze, no

celebration, nothing. I'm gonna count down. I want to see the photograph. Right. This wedding party everyone's really cheesed off.

(They hold this pose but he says they are all smiling far too much. He asks them to do it again. This time they look much sterner. He then asks for the ugliest and then the most handsome group:)

T : Where's my camera? Got it all in? Okay. All right. Just relax there.

He asks them to bring their chairs back into the circle as before. He takes out a clip-board and sits in the circle.

T : I'm going to talk for quite a while, so get ready. Going to go through quite a lot of things and I'm rolling up my sleeves just to show you my suntan. Yugoslavian suntan.

Holds His arm against that of the girl next to him.

T : See, Betsy. Right, now we're gonna, we're gonna try and make up a play. Okay? It's going to be quite a complicated, erm, it's going to be quite a complicated play. Cos I'm gonna give you a lot of information first and then when all that information is over ..... you're gonna get on with it straight away. I am gonna take a part in it. We're gonna try and set up a small ..... factory of some kind. Now this isn't going to be an ordinary factory. As you can tell already this room is altered. The quality of the light is brighter ..... er, the amount of equipment ..... there are changes in it which we're aware of. And this factory's gonna be set sometime in the future. So already this quality, of light I think might help in some way.

(He wants them to work out a job that they might do in this factory. It has to be a technological job of some sort and must be complicated and difficult.)

T : I'm going to give you three or four minutes to just give me the impression that I am looking at a factory

in which everybody knows what they are doing. Like what are you doing? It doesn't really matter as long as you convince me that you are doing a job which you know all about. So all you've got to do is find a job, use the chairs, set it up. Try to use - don't go further please than about that line, roughly where you're sitting now. What I mean is try to use this end of the room, concentrate on this end of the room..... Don't want you down there..... the chairs, anything you like, about three minutes. Spread yourselves out. And start..... As soon as you're happy I want you to start work. Then that's it, I'll call you back in the circle.

The pupils form into groups around the room, moving rostra and setting up chairs. The teacher moves around the room speaking to individuals. He then asks them if they are all ready and counts down for them to start. When they have begun he tells them that they look too happy. This is meant to be difficult work that demands a lot of concentration. After several minutes he stops them.

T : That's fine. It's an exercise. I want to use this you see as part of the play later.

(He asks them to remember the positions they are in now.)

T : It's difficult work..... which you've really got to keep thinking about. If you stop thinking about it suddenly everything could go wrong. And if anything goes wrong you're gonna be in trouble. Right? So there's that kind of worry about the work. You've got to do things right. Good, that's fine. Now can you bring your chairs back again.

He wants them back in the circle so that he can give them more information about the play. They sit round in chairs as before.

T : Now I honestly don't know what will happen but I am hoping that you'll make it difficult for me. Right? And you're gonna have to work to do that because I'm gonna have more power and control than any of you. Naturally because it's my factory and I set it up.

(He says that he will be taking two assistants to work with him. They will know more than the rest about the factory. He will also be using the camera crew but he wants the

group to twist them round and use them against him. They will see what he means when it starts.) He wants the group to make it uncomfortable for him. First, he wants to do one more exercise.

T : Now then I'll give you the instructions for this next exercise and when that..... when this next exercise is over..... we've started. All right? I'm not talking like this any more, I'm joining in with you. And for this next exercise, I think I'll spread you out. I want you all to go completely on your own. In a space any where you like in the chair, just sit and wait and I'll give you some instructions. Okay? Just put your chairs in a space anywhere. Use the whole room. Space on your own..... Right? I want you to close your eyes. While you've got your eyes closed I'm gonna put on some sounds, and while that sound continues I want you to try to forget that you're here. Forget that you know your own name. And when this sound begins, I want you then to open your eyes. You can look around as slowly as you like. I want you to try not to see other people, to keep away from them. You've lost your memory completely. You've never even seen a chair before, a curtain, objects. You don't know what these things are in this place in this room. Everything you see is totally new for the first time ..... and I just want you to explore the room. When the music stops, then I want you to, yes, be aware of other people and vaguely remember other people and you can talk then. You can talk to the other people ..... Okay?

They sit quietly. He plays a piece of electronic sounds through the loudspeakers. They stand up and begin to move around. The sounds stop and they begin to talk and some to laugh in random groups around the room. The teacher walks to the centre of the room wearing dark glasses and having put on his jacket.

T : Good, good, good, good, good, good, good. Thank you, thank you. Erm..... Yes, it does seem to have worked. Could you all take one chair each please, now and just bring it down to the meeting area? Would you just put your chairs facing these ..... facing the table, please? Thank you. Wilson, could you sit here please? Just sit here please. Thank you. Er..... Powell, could you bring a chair here please? Thank you. Now..... we have conditioned you, I believe, to do a certain amount of work. You see, this place, this factory, this

establishment is a very important place and you're very honoured indeed to be able to work here. Er... Please call me 'Sir' from now on. If you need to call each other anything, would you please address each other by surnames only. Your last names. Last names only. It's just one of those little rules that we like to keep everything going.

The 'pips' sound over the school tannoy to mark the end of a period. He looks at his watch.

T : Yes, everything seems to be working well. When I come into the factory unit, I'm afraid I cannot answer any of your questions. I cannot talk with you and your only chance, your only opportunity if you wish to ask me something is here in our meeting place because we do often have little meetings. They are important for my research..... for my research project. Okay? Any questions? ..... No? Good. Thank you very much for joining in this experiment and now we have some very important work to do. Could I ask you, please, now to go to your places and to begin working as efficiently as you can please? There'll be another meeting in about ten minutes, half an hour or so. Thank you very much.

The class, with the exceptions of Wilson and Powell, move back to their 'work' areas, talking quietly. He turns to Wilson and Powell.

T : You two have been selected by me because I've detected that you have got ..... more intelligence than these people ..... Understand me? And your memory traces are not nearly as badly affected as most of these people. What I'm saying really is that you are slightly superior to these people..... Right? With me? And, and you're working for me. Now can I just say just a couple of very important things. If you ever go down there at all, no matter what for, you must, must wear these glasses.

W : Ohh!

T : Well, no, let me explain. I know it seems a bit unusual. Can I explain why? You see, these people, because of the high intensity of light in here do not realise that after five years they will be permanently blinded. Do you understand what blind means? After five years..... of this kind of light, they will go blind. Now there's nothing really I can do about this. I mean we have to get other people in then to replace them.

(Wilson and Powell get up and patrol the groups telling them to work harder. The teacher calls Wilson and Powell over and says that he is about to tell the camera crew that their job is to increase efficiency too.) He does so. The teacher, Wilson, Powell and the camera crew roam round the room watching the rest at work and telling them to work harder. (After several minutes, having listened to complaints from members of the group about the heat, the teacher calls a meeting. One of the boys and one of the girls say that the heat is making the work impossible.)

T : You are very lucky and honoured to be working here ..... I'm very sorry about the minor conditions. We'll try to solve the heat problem. All right? We'll really try our best on this. Now can you see if you could transfer Cook to another part of the work. We'll give you another go just to see how you manage. Okay?

A second girl puts her hand up.

G2: Do we get to know what this research is for?

T : Erm. Can you stay behind for a moment after this meeting please? Right, could you all go back to work please? Thank you.

T : (To Wilson and Powell). It's Smith. She's showing signs of thinking for herself. We could either use her..... with us, but I haven't got enough glasses. Or we just keep a careful eye on her.

W : Give her another try and see how she works out.

T : Give her another try? Erm, Smith, we cannot tell you why you're working. As a part of the experiment I've just given you the job to do and you just have to do the job. Do you understand? All right? I'm, afraid you cannot ask me why we do it. Camera crew, can you keep a careful eye please on Smith when you go back into the factory. Not too obviously. I don't want to cause distress among the other workers.

He tells Smith to go back to work and Wilson and Powell to press for more efficiency. The group continue to work but there are more complaints to the camera crew about

the heat and 'all these stoppages'. After five minutes the teacher announces a rest period. He is aware of the problem of the heat. While the group rests he and the wardens will try to adjust the temperature. The group move their chairs down to the meeting area. The teacher moves away and leaves them to talk. Smith asks if anyone remembers words that she keeps thinking about: 'funny'; 'different'; 'reflection'. The teacher interrupts, saying that they have managed to cool the temperature so that everyone can work a lot harder. He would like Smith and Francis to sit in front of his desk for a moment while the others go back to work. The others move back to the work areas.

T : You're not happy.

S : I keep thinking these words.

T : What kind of words?

S : 'Different'.

T : Different?

S : 'Reflection'.

T : Oh, they don't mean anything, these words. They're things..... remember once when you had a memory? Remember once. These words are things that have come out of your memory. They don't really mean anything now at all. You see your job, the reason you're here, is to work and later on we're gonna give you food and drink. Food and drink..... to cool you down.

(Smith and Francis go back to their work area. The teacher, Wilson and Powell walk around the room. The girl who had earlier complained about the heat had collapsed on the floor. The teacher ignores this. The camera crew point her out.) He tells them to mind their own business.

T : It's not your job to make judgements on what is going on here. Do you understand? Otherwise I can make sure that not only do you lose your job, but

you'll find it very difficult to enjoy any freedom when you leave this place. Do you understand?

CC: We understand.

T : Thank you.

(The teacher goes over to the collapsed girl and instructs Wilson and Powell to bring her to the meeting area and place her on a chair facing the group. He calls a meeting.)

T : Now this person here, Cook, what we are going to do, and some of you may not understand this, I'm going to explain very slowly. We're going to do something, it's a process and we call it 'taking away life'. And after you see this person disappear do you realise then that if you do not carry on working, then we will have to take somebody else and take away their life. Now then, before we take away the life of this person, do any of you have anything to say? Any questions?

F : Well supposing you take away everybody, what's going to happen?

T : Well we won't do that. You see, we're only using one person, Cook, you see, was number one and she collapsed and anyway she can't work. You've seen her on the floor haven't you?

B1: We'll have more work to do won't we?

G3: It's gonna make more work for us and then another one's gonna collapse and it's gonna go on and on like that isn't it?

P : Well if you..... obey orders, you won't collapse will you?

G3: Why?

B1: We'll have too much work won't we?

G3: Yeh, but we'll have too much work every time somebody collapses we're gonna get more work aren't we?

T : Ah, no, no. I'll take care of that, I'll take care of that..... You see what's happening, you see. Even you, one of our best workers are starting to think, aren't you, for yourself, and it's dangerous. It's bad, you see, because the next thing is you'll be, erm..... you'll be telling me that I shouldn't be giving you the work. See what I mean?



Several of the group tell him that he should not be giving them the work.

T : I'm trying to make you understand..... that it could be you. We could take your life and you'd be nothing. You wouldn't be here. You wouldn't be able to see, to hear, to touch things. We are only doing it to one person.....

G4: Yeh, but do you think so? Do you think you can get away with it by just killing one person and you're gonna think that's it, we're gonna be the same and you're gonna kill us as well.

P : We're not killing her, we're just taking her life away.

T : That's right.

G4: Well what does that mean? He just said it, he just said it. He explained it.

T : I made a mistake there. There is a difference.

F : I thought you don't make mistakes.

T : Camera crew, will you stop this please. Stop filming.

Wilson and Powell usher the camera crew out of the meeting area to the far end of the room. The teacher says he will answer their questions now that the camera crew is out but he does not like what is happening. (He orders Smith to come out to the front and to press the button that will kill Cook.) Anger among the rest. They accuse him of murder.

T : Taking away somebody's life is not murder.

Loud shouting from the group.

T : Can I just say this..... Of course I could press this button if I wanted to. Of course I could.

G3: Why don't you?

W : (To Smith). Come along.

G5: (Shouting). Smith. Your killing her. You shut up. Smith, you're killing her. Sit down. Take no notice of her.

G6: Don't be stupid.

Loud shouts from the group.

T : When this person's lost her life, then you'll understand and you will work more efficiently for us.

G4: Doing everything you say that's why we're getting into trouble.

He calls Wilson and Powell to one side. Loud shouts.

T : My theory is this. If I allow Cook to live perhaps I can..... they don't want her, you see, they don't want to kill her. They understand a little bit about this taking life. If I allow her to stay alive, do you think the others would obey my orders. That they would go and work more efficiently? But only..... I would only keep her alive if they promise to work more efficiently. Do you think that would work?

P : No I don't think it will. Because they know too much about things now. I think we didn't give them, you know, a brainwash good enough.

T : You think the brainwash was too weak to begin with.

P : Yeh.

T : Well it wasn't you know, it was spot on.

They go back and speak to the whole group.

T : We know that you do not really want to take this person's life or murder as one of you said. So what we will do is..... we will keep her. We will let her stay with you. But because we keep her that means you now will work more efficiently for us. Do you understand? But if you do not go and work efficiently for us, then we will have to take her life. Do you understand?

G4: This is the same thing again isn't it?

Loud shouting from the group.

G2: You want to get rid of us all.

G3: I mean, you might as well get rid of her now. If someone's gonna press it later, right, it's the same thing as taking her life right now. It's gonna make no difference to us is it?

(The teacher says that there is no point in discussing this any further. The experiment has failed. They must get back to work at once. They slowly and reluctantly go back to the work areas. He talks with Wilson and Powell saying that he must tell them the truth before he has them all killed. He orders them back for a final meeting. As they are arguing, no work is being done anyway. He has decided to tell them the facts - the truth about everything. There is no further need for secrecy as they will all be dying soon due to the failure of the experiment. He too will be replaced now that the work has stopped.)

G3: Why did you try this experiment on us?

T : Why did I try this experiment on you?

G4: As you call it, yeh. Experiment, experiment. Well why did you try it on us? Why not on other people?

T : Well, you see..... the experiment is to do with the nature of factory, the purpose of the factory. You see, you people, really, er..... in times gone by would not have been allowed any freedom. You would have been living, many of you, in what was called a prison. Because some of you have committed crimes of one kind or another..... and our purpose is to use you people..... to work for us. And the factory itself, the whole purpose of the factory, is to take away the lives of people.

F : Supposing we take your life. You two just got picked out and given powers and you just walk about.  
...

P : We wasn't given power. We had the power.

F : Well we've got the power then if you've got it. Because you was one of us at one time.

T : Well can I say this then Mr Francis. All right, you have hit on the truth. You do have a certain amount of power and you've shown that. You've stopped all our work. It really doesn't matter much about you losing your lives. I mean, the intensity of light, I mean you thought it was heat, in fact, it wasn't really heat, it's light. Light of such an intensity provides heat. It would blind you after five years permanently. After five years without wearing glasses like these.....

G2: So that's why you wear them?

T : Yes.

B2: What if we decide to try and overrun you all?  
There's only three of you.

The teacher says that he is going to stop it there. He says that it is getting very difficult for him as he had hoped it would. He will take his jacket off now and stop being the professor. Wilson and Powell can relax. In the few minutes left he asks if they have any questions about what they have done. They say that they found it really interesting and that it would make a good play if it was better organised.

#### 4.6. Teacher's intentions

The teacher felt that the group would be inhibited by the presence of the crew and took this into account in devising the objectives of this lesson:

- (1) to create a secure atmosphere and conditions for an extended improvised play;
- (2) to work as one group;
- (3) to explore, within the play, whether individuals working in an oppressive situation can find the courage to stand up and challenge what is being asked of them;
- (4) to overcome the inhibiting influence of the strangers and technical paraphernalia.

#### 4.7 Teacher's comments

The teacher imposed a strong structure on the work, and also took an authoritarian role, partly because he felt that the group would benefit from this, given the circumstances of the lesson and their varying experiences of drama in the past, and also because the situation of the factory demanded it.

'..... I took a strongly directive role because this enabled me to provide a focus for the work, support them in their efforts to enter and sustain roles and shape the direction of the drama. Also the role that I assumed was of crucial importance to the theme, namely the thin dividing line between obedience to authority and exploitation by authority and figures of power. By making up a play which they felt worked, they were given a creative satisfaction. But there was also the personal satisfaction of actively sharing in the creative process. Each person was allowed to feel that he or she was of consequence - no-one was excluded. Every individual was engaged in that piece of drama. The work also revealed a sense of moral justice - a satisfaction arising out of the narrative itself. I mean they saw a self-confident, accomplished, dictatorial, callous figure - i.e. me in role - finally pushed into a corner where he was beginning to squirm. And doing so was the result of their actions within the drama'.

He was pleased with the group's ability to sustain their involvement in the drama. The lesson was not followed up, however. This was partly because he saw it as a self-contained piece of work and also because the absentee problem in the school as a whole makes it difficult to develop ideas from one lesson to the next.

## 5 Lesson four: Preparations

The school and teacher are as for lesson three.

### 5.1 The group

The group consisted of twenty three 13-14 year-olds in the 'top ability band'. This lesson took place in the fourth week of the school year. The pupils were mostly new to each other and few had previous experience of drama work. In their first drama lesson the group had seemed 'apprehensive, passive and yet expectant'.

'..... Much of this passive attitude..... is not only due to tension but also to a basic inability to express one's thought or to be

seen expressing oneself. In school we expect that children listen, obey, record and memorise information so often that their own innate potential to be creative is smothered'.

In the second week of the term all third year sets at the school were rearranged as a result of the school's own reading assessment tests. Nine children in this group left to be replaced by children from other sets. This meant that 'the problem of building a group's identity and security still had to be worked on'.

## 5.2 Lesson outline

(1) Each person is asked to find a space and to close their eyes. They must memorise their position in their mind's eye. They then move away from the spot and try to find their way back to the exact position they began from.

(2) This is repeated several times - each time with a new difficulty added: moving further, having to be more accurate.

(3) In pairs, each partner has to trick the other into saying yes or no by firing quick, random questions.

(4) One half of the group take seats and the others move in and around them trying to trick as many as possible into getting out of their seat. They have to move to a new person after thirty seconds. The roles are reversed.

(5) In pairs, one person is asked to close their eyes while their partner moves position slightly, or alters their appearance in some small way. The partner then opens their eyes and has to discover the alteration and say what it is. The roles are then reversed.

(6) Each couple studies and compares the lines on the palms of their hands trying to see them with 'fresh' eyes. They then try to make shapes with the hands and fingers for their partner to copy.

(7) This develops subsequently into a sequence of activities on fortune-telling and fairgrounds.

### 5.3 Teacher's intentions

- (1) to encourage individuals to work freely with one another;
- (2) to accept and value one another's efforts;
- (3) to overcome the inhibitions and fear associated with encountering a new subject;
- (4) to encourage enjoyment of drama work;
- (5) to allow each person to work hard and develop at their own level without fear of exposure or ridicule.

### 5.4 Teacher's comments

'..... The first exercise caused a good deal of amusement, satisfaction and, although working individually, all were aware of belonging to an activity that the whole group were engaged in. The simple nature of the task with its definite goal and purpose aided concentration and moving amongst others without the use of sight meant a commitment to trusting oneself and conquering the slight fear and challenge that the task posed.

The fourth exercise was a noisy activity which really loosened inhibitions about talking,

- (a) because people began with the security of the partner they chose
- (b) the 'fun' nature and simplicity of the idea
- (c) the general barrage of sound behind which one could hide.

The development of ..... people ..... facing and working with partners they would never have chosen

to work with was a risk I felt the group could take because of the high level of enjoyment and grasp of the task they have acquired. Many individuals showed real delight in their ability to use words to fool their partners and many of the partners showed surprise and delight in the way they'd been caught out.

The fifth exercise had the element of tricking or surprise in it but was almost completely non-verbal and once each couple had grasped the idea they were themselves in complete control of how it should develop without interference from myself..... I was surprised with the atmosphere of very sincere absorption and the way in which most individuals were showing the self-discipline and control which the task demanded.

To have attempted the sixth exercise with its body contact and need for sensitivity at the beginning of the lesson would have produced some embarrassment and inhibition and many would have looked at their hands in a superficial way 'because the teacher said so'. But after the preceding work with its emphasis on using the eyes closely and the eye contact and awareness of the partner, it worked. Moving around, listening to comments, showing my own hand and gasping at various hand shapes gave me an impression that the exercise had value.....

These exercises were of great importance to me in:

- (a) winning involvement from the group;
- (b) giving me time to observe and assess the needs of the group as best I could;
- (c) building a relationship of warmth.'



NOTESINTRODUCTION

(1) Because of the different designations of staff in different authorities it is difficult to establish the exact number of drama advisers. The figures kept by the National Association of Drama Advisers at 30 January 1981 were:

- (a) number of people listed with some drama responsibility for drama: 178;
- (b) number of N.A.D.A. members: 100 (including 13 Honorary);
- (c) number of 'drama' advisers: approximately 60;
- (d) number of advisory teachers of drama: approximately 67.

(2) This figure is based on lists compiled by the National Association for the Teaching of Drama (N.A.T.D.).

(3) See Chapter One, Section 4:5.

(4) For an account of these techniques see Taylor, J.C. and Walford, R. (1972) and Davison, A. and Gordon, P. (1978).

(5) For an account of the growth of Theatre-in-Education, see Jackson, T. (1980). A useful analysis of T.I.E. in relation to Children's Theatre is given in the Arts Council of Great Britain's report on Children's Theatre (1978). John Allen (1979) describes the development of Children's Theatre and the seminal work of Caryl Jenner at the Unicorn and of Brian Way at Theatre Centre in London.

For an account of developments in Children's Theatre in the United States, see McCaslin (1978).

(6) The need for definition has been pointed to many times. The Department of Education and Science (1968) has called for clarification of the aims of improvisation. Malcolm Ross in his study of the arts in secondary schools argues that this takes us to the wrong starting point. Instead we should be asking more fundamental questions about the 'essential and unique nature of the dramatic experience itself'. He goes on:

'..... All the agonising over the 'integrity of the subject' and its relationship to English or physical education points to this basic need for clarification of the exact nature of the experience we are offering to children in drama.

In the absence of an answer to our question, all other issues tend to become trivial and it proves impossible to think about inter-subject relationships'.

(Ross: 1975, p52)

(7) See, for example, Pemberton-Billing, R.N. and Clegg, J.D. (1965); Way, B. (1967); Self, D. (1975); Chilver, P. (1978); Hodgson, J. and Richards, E. (1966).

(8) See, for example: Anna Scher and Charles Verrall's 100+ Ideas for Drama (Heinemann: 1977); Derek Bowskill's Drama in Action (Hutchinson: 1979) and James and Williams, A Guide to Improvisation (Kemble Press, 1980).

(9) Three important exceptions to this are: Bolton, G. (1979); Wagner, B.J. (1979) and McGregor, L., Tate, M. and Robinson, K. (1977).

(10) For profile and analysis of trends in youth unemployment see Youthaid (1977 and 1980).

Successive Governments have taken the line that youth unemployment, like other areas of unemployment, is transitory and will disperse with economic recovery. Youthaid, among others, believe on the contrary that it is not a symptom of the recession but a structural feature of Western economies. According to the E.E.C. medium economic policy programme it is estimated that:

'..... to restore even general levels of unemployment to acceptable levels would require an increase of the production of goods and services of at least 25%. The National Institute for Social and Economic Research has similarly commented that G.N.P. must grow at 5% per year for five years before full employment is restored. That figure implies growth of manufacturing industry of around 8½% and a growth of exports of around 16%. A prospect of which it has been said: 'To believe in the impossible and to hope

for the unobtainable is no basis for a constructive policy' (Kenneth Baker, M.P. in The Guardian, 17 May 1977, Quoted in Youthaid: 1977, p6)

(11) Recent reports have included:- Education in Schools: A Consultative Document, D.E.S. 1977c; Curriculum 11-16 (D.E.S. 1977c); Aspects of Secondary Education (D.E.S. 1979); Principles and Priorities (Schools Council, 1979); The School Curriculum (D.E.S. 1981); The Practical Curriculum (Schools Council, 1981). None of these has given detailed consideration to any of the arts.

(12) An exception to this is Courtney, (1968) who sets out to place drama in the context of philosophical, psychological and social developments from the earliest times to the present day. Less ambitiously Brian Wilks (1972) gives a general sketch of the development of drama in schools during this century. John Allen (1979) also provides an historical outline of the growth of drama in schools and so too, in much more detail, do Philip Coggin (1956) and T.H. Vail Motter (1929).

(13) Drama teaching has been the subject of three other national surveys in Britain. The first by the H.M.I. (D.E.S. 1968) was based on a series of visits to schools and was intended to give a general view of contemporary trends and issues. The report welcomed the growth of drama teaching but was critical of the quality of much that was going on. It pointed to considerable confusion of purpose and practice among teachers particularly over the relationship between drama and theatre and to lost opportunities in, for example, language development. H.M.I. saw an urgent need to clarify the roles and functions of drama schools and called for more detailed research into and consideration of this work. This report is discussed further in Chapter One, Section 5.

In 1974 the Schools Council funded a two year research and development project on drama teaching in the 10-16 age range. The project's brief was to clarify the aims and objectives of drama teaching; to consider questions of assessment and

evaluation and to look at the place of drama in the curriculum. The work of the project centred on classroom observation in 18 schools in six authorities for one year. Its findings were published in 1977 as Learning Through Drama (McGregor, L., Tate, M. and Robinson, K.). I was directly involved in the Schools Council project as a team member and there has naturally been a cross fertilisation of ideas between that study and the present one. The Schools Council report outlines a tentative theoretical framework for drama. I want here to articulate such a framework in much more detail and to pursue its implications a good deal further than that project attempted. I also propose some revisions to the project's approach to, for example, assessment and evaluation.

In 1975, the Schools Council also funded a descriptive survey of drama in primary schools (See Note 17 below). In 1949 a Working Party at the Ministry of Education submitted a report on drama in schools and colleges which was critical of some contemporary trends. This was not made public. Some of the main points of the report are discussed in Chapter One, Section 4.3.

Drama and theatre activities in education were the subject of a large research programme in the United States between 1966 and 1970 at the Central Midwestern Regional Educational Laboratory (C.E.M.R.E.L.). The Educational Laboratory Theatre Project (E.L.T.P.) was under the direction of James Hoetker and worked with a budget of over 6 million dollars. Its final report was published in four volumes with two special reports. (Hoetker, 1970). Although the aims of that project were quite different to those of this study - as was its funding - it is worth noting some of Hoetker's own reflections on its work. The E.L.T.P. set out partly to consider the effects of theatre experiences on young people. To do so it subsidised three professional theatre companies and provided for theatre visits by several hundred thousand secondary school pupils. As part of the evaluation component:

'..... We gathered and analysed great piles of documents of all sorts; we administered and re-administered questionnaires to thousands of people and interviewed hundreds more ..... we used semantic differentials to compare 'meanings' of theatre experience to boys and girls, blacks and whites, teachers and students, actors and audiences; we devised and adapted various projective tests and content-analysed student responses to them; we developed and used tests of achievement in drama; we conducted the largest and most expensive single experimental study of English teaching that has, so far as I know, ever been carried out. And so on.'

(Hoetker, J.: 1975, p81)

At the end of this process Hoetker had become

'..... a pronounced sceptic about the value of the 'scientific' research that we had done'. (Ibid.,p81)

Those who had hoped that the project would establish objectively the effects of theatre experiences, he concluded, were bound to be as disappointed as were those who had hoped.

'..... that a well-endowed research component could in three years or so, get us further along than Aristotle and Hume and Kant (sic) and Groce have been able to do'. (Ibid.,p82)

He and many of his staff were led to question

'..... and eventually to reject entire, the natural science model of experimental research that we had commonly in our graduate schools been given to understand was THE ONLY WAY TO TRUTH.' (Ibid.,p82, Author's capitals)

This need to question the 'omniscient objectivity' of 'scientific' method will become an important theme in this study. I will be arguing that the arts provide other, no less objective, ways of knowing and that these need to be given their due in education. It is a useful irony that the work of the E.L.T.P., though having quite different aims of my own, should illustrate this through its attempts to account for the value of the arts in scientific forms.

Stephenson and Vincent's (1975) symposium on drama, which includes Hoetker's remarks, argues for forms of descriptive

research based on participant observation. This is consistent with the view of drama developed in this study. Some studies exist, including that of the Schools Council : 10-16 project, which use this model and there are others which provide very detailed comments on classroom interaction in drama lessons (e.g. McGregor, L.:1975).

In this thesis my concern, against the background of information yielded by the survey and visits, is to pursue the central issues which, as I see it, are posed for the teaching and evaluation of drama. With Ross (see Note 6 above) and H.M.I., I take it that without a clarification of basic questions of definition and function, all other issues become intractable or trivial.

(14) See Appendix One.

(15) The questionnaire provided a framework of information on patterns of provision. I decided against using a standardised interview format during visits to schools. It seemed important to be able to pursue in detail the issues which most concerned teachers in their different schools.

(16) I have also confined it to work in Britain. The growth of drama in education has by no means been confined to British schools however. There have been comparable, almost parallel developments in other countries, notably in the United States and Canada. In an international survey conducted for the International Theatre Institute of UNESCO in the early 1950's, information was gathered from 27 countries. Eighteen of these indicated some involvement or experiment in the uses of drama in education. ('Theatre for Youth: An International Report' in Educational Theatre Journal, December 1955 and Quoted in Siks, G.B., 1958).

(17) For a full account of the practice and organisation of drama in primary schools, see Stabler, T. (1979). There is also a discussion of some of the issues involved in understanding drama in primary schools in Rosen, C. and Rosen, H. (1973).

NOTESCHAPTER ONE

(1) Up to the early 1960's, for example, the school production, as a rule, was of an established script: a classic or 'well-made play' and accurately mirrored the dominant forms of professional West End theatre in this. Just as professional theatre became more diverse under the influence, for example, of Brecht, Joan Littlewood, Peter Brook, Grotowski and so on, and developed new approaches to documentary and musical theatre, so too the school play over the past 20 or 30 years has diversified. This is not surprising. Schools are not cultural ghettos. As I will argue in Chapter Eight they do and must interact with the social culture of which they are part.

(2) See Allen, J. (1979) p159.

(3) In addition to Vail Motter's detailed description of the development of school drama, Richard Courtney (1968) offers an account of the emergence of educational drama from early theatre.

(4) See Chapter Two (6.2) and Chapter Three (3).

(5) See Courtney, R. (1968) p42.

(6) An account of this work was published in Britain in 1951. See bibliography.

(7) See Allen, J. (1979).

(8) In the Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers, issued in 1905, the Board of Education stated, for example, that:

'..... Uniformity in details of practice - except in the mere routine of school management - is not desirable, even if it were attainable'. (Quoted in Maclure, J.S., 1973, p5)

(9) This estimate was made by John Holgate in an article in Speech and Drama, January 1952, Vol. 1 No. 2, published by the Society of Teachers of Speech and Drama. After saying

that the value of amateur drama was beyond question he adds that many of the plays and productions,

'..... were worthless from an artistic point of view but were important in the social life of the community'.

Worthless to whom?

(10) The membership of the A.T.S.D. was 216 in February 1937 and rose to 240 in February 1938.

(11) Topics in the Bulletin ranged from Production in Little Theatres to The Psychology of the Development of Speech. The Bulletin for February 1938 records a meeting of the Association on The Health of the Teacher's Voice chaired by Dr E J Boome.

(12) Secretary's Report, Bulletin of the A.T.S.D., No. 3 February 1937.

(13) These were suggested as the principal aims of drama by Mr E C Mathews, at a forum on Drama in the School organised by the Association at University College London, in January 1938 and reported in the Bulletin of the A.T.S.D. No. 6, 1938.

(14) There were exceptions. At Fairlop Secondary School in Ilford, for example, the pioneering work of Alan Garrard had resulted, by 1949, in all classes being 'given drama lessons as a school subject' (Wiles, J. and Garrard, A.: 1957). Separate provision of this type was rare.

(15) The influence of Gorky's thinking on one such community is the subject of Nicholas Wright's play, The Gorky Brigade, produced at The Royal Court in 1979, directed by William Gaskill.

(16) Makarenko's work was not widely known in Britain until the 1950's.

(17) For an account of some of the work being done in these schools see Allen, J. (1979).



(18) A.L. Stone's work is described in Story of a School, H.M.S.O., 1949b. Others made their mark on the development of drama in education directly through training students, notably Rose Bruford and Esme Church. Both encouraged students of drama, in the lean years before and after the war, to work with children. Bruford eventually opened her own college while Church worked with Rudolf Laban and others during her long association with the Young Vic.

One of Esme Church's most celebrated pupils from her time in Bradford was a young mill girl, Dorothy Shot, later Dorothy Heathcote.

Outside the drama room practitioners in the related fields of mime and dance were coming to recognise the close connections with drama. Rudolf Laban, who had left Germany shortly before the Second World War, had undertaken research in England into the movements of workers and the rhythms of work. He worked for a time in Manchester with Liza Ullman and also with Esme Church in Bradford, eventually publishing his work on 'Modern Educational Dance' (MacDonald and Evans Ltd: First Published in 1948). In an article in 'School Drama' (Boas and Hayden: Op Cit) Joyce Ruscoe discussed 'Mime, Movement and the Ballad' arguing that:

'..... In mime we find a complete system of training for each part of the physique and at the same time a means of development in self-expression which will give vitality and personality to acting, while placing it on a firm physical foundation. It teaches self-discipline ..... Increases alertness and vitality; sympathy and understanding of others are gained through the study of the lives of widely differing characters ..... imagination is kept alive and led into channels that will develop creative power; the personality and individuality of the child are stimulated in the right proportion to other personalities around it'. (Ibid., p17)

(19) Journal of the Society of Teachers of Speech and Drama, Vol. 1, No. 2, January 1952.

(20) Some members were becoming restless at the type of debate the Society engaged in. At the end of a round of

discussions on regional pronunciation of consonants, one correspondent to the Bulletin in the Summer of 1954, sounded a warning.

'..... I hope Miss Rich will not understand me. I do not object to her pronunciation. I merely ask that accepted variants should not be damned. I have heard pupils of one of the constituent schools of the S.T.S.D. criticising the consonants of another school of the same Society and I know from experience that intolerance and finicky precision is causing a certain amount of antagonism in the world outside and even among some directors of education.' (Journal of the S.T.S.D., Vol. 4, No. 1, July 1954).

The Journals of the 1950's are peppered with statements of unrest about the apathy of the membership and the need to think about the Society's role. The many changes going on around it eventually forced the Society to think about its terms of membership. At the A.G.M. of 1966, and reported in the Spring Bulletin of that year (Vol. 15, No. 2), the exclusiveness of the Society was debated. Geoffrey Hodson, of the I.L.E.A., Gavin Bolton and John Hodgson were invited to speak at a forum on 'the way forward'. The membership then stood at 890 but less than a third were qualified, in the terms of the D.E.S., to teach in schools, not having done a three year approved course. Moreover, many practising teachers who had a D.E.S. certificate could not join the S.T.S.D. because they did not hold any of their recognised diplomas. On top of this, other societies and associations, such as the Educational Drama Association, were competing for business.

(21) Peter Slade made an unusual use of capital letters. Events or ideas he particularly wanted to emphasise are given capitals and so always are the words Child and Drama.

(22) An advance press notice from London University Press described it as, 'an outstanding book by one of our leading specialists in education'. Child Drama clearly followed Cizek's analysis of Child Art (see Wilhelm, U. 1936) published several years before. Noting the parallel, the U.L.P.

state that Slade's 'pioneer work puts the whole case for the existence of Child Drama'.

Following the huge success of Child Drama, a bulky and detailed book, Peter Slade was prevailed upon to produce a shorter version which would be more accessible to parents and non-specialists. An Introduction to Child Drama (1958) was the result.

(23) Slade identified a number of stages in personal development. During early childhood there is the 'Dawn of Seriousness', for example. At some point during adolescence the young person enters The Night. Slade doesn't say what triggers this off.

(24) Indeed, the committee hoped to suggest ways of securing a closer relationship and a more informed mutual understanding between the professional theatre and the schools and training colleges. The relationship between drama and theatre thus became the dominant theme of the whole report.

(25) This had to be well-managed. 'A child', says the report, 'is not an adult with some of the pieces missing'. If we are to teach children effectively, we must understand them as human beings, know how their minds work and what their needs, limitations and capabilities are. Those who learn the language of children,

'..... also discover that children have something to give them and can in their own way produce work of great beauty'. (Ministry of Education: 1949a,p7)

It is easy to imagine, say the committee, 'though perhaps not so easy to carry out', a gradual transition from creating and acting a play on chosen material as well as possible, and acting a play written by a dramatist.

(26) They were by no means alone in this. In 1955 the Trades Union Congress, for example, had issued the same challenge. In 1948 Local Authorities had been empowered to raise a 6d levy on the rates to spend on arts and 'cultural

activities'. In the view of the T.U.C., the response had been disappointing. Accordingly, they passed a resolution in congress calling on the government

'..... to ensure that financial aid was provided for live theatres, orchestras, art galleries and other cultural activities at the national and local level in order that they might flourish and make their contribution to enriching the quality of life'.  
( T.U.C.: 1976, p2)

With the growth of cinema and television, there was a fear that cultural activity would fall predominantly into commercial hands and this posed a particular danger to young people. In the general report to Congress of 1961, the T.U.C. emphasised the need,

'..... to develop among all young people the ability to appreciate and participate in artistic activities and condemned the lack of support by both central and local government for the provision of artistic and cultural facilities'. (Ibid., p2)

(27) Child Drama was edited by Brian Way. He was associated with the work of Peter Slade for many years but eventually left Rea Street to found his own centre in London. From his new base, Theatre Centre, he built up a network of touring companies of actors, going into schools all over the country, performing plays specially written for children. For many years he provided one of the largest children's theatre services in the country.

Clearly there were some points of difference between him and Peter Slade. Nevertheless in his own book, published in 1967, Brian Way goes to considerable lengths to maintain the drama/theatre distinction. The book is, in essence, a practical guide to teachers who want to use drama but it contains a number of passages in which he outlines the 'theoretical basis' of practical drama. In Way's view drama provides a necessary alternative to the overly intellectual aspects of the curriculum.

'..... The answer to many simple questions might take one of two forms - either that of information or else that of direct experience; the former belongs to the category of academic education, the latter to drama'.

(Way: 1967,p1)

For example, the question, 'What is a blind person', might be answered by the statement, 'A blind person is a person who cannot see'. Alternatively the teacher might ask the children to close their eyes and try to find their way out of the room.

'..... The first answer contains precise and accurate information; the mind is possibly satisfied. But the second answer leads the inquirer to moments of direct experience transcending mere knowledge, enriching the imagination, possibly touching the heart and soul as well as the mind. This in oversimplified terms is the precise function of drama'. (Ibid., p1)

Way was anxious, as were others before him, that the emphasis on specialism should not distract teachers from the main objective of their work, which is 'to develop the whole person'.

To make drama one more subject on the timetable risks putting drama before children. It is comparatively easy, according to Way, to develop drama; it is less easy to develop children. The teacher might be able to produce brilliant drama, but this is no guarantee that the children themselves have benefited. Despite his own professional interest in children's theatre, he could not see the point of children taking part in performances.

'..... Generally speaking communication to an audience is beyond the capacities of the majority of children and young people, and attempts to coerce or impose communication too soon often lead to artificiality and therefore destroy the value of the intended experience. The fact that there are very few children who by natural gift are able to achieve the intentions of both theatre and drama merely highlights the question of who is helped by the activity'. (Ibid., p23)

Schools do not exist to develop actors, but people. This is possible only if the teacher and the children discard the

limitations of theatrical conventions and consider drama as:

'..... a quite different activity, calling upon different standards of judgement and entirely different results'. (Ibid., p6)

This could not be more definite nor could it be further from the dictums of 'Improvisation' published the year before. But Way goes further than this. He is doubtful whether drama has any real affinity with the arts. His reservations are that standards of good art are normally measured against professional achievement and that the arts have come to be held as the only forum for the exercise of imagination. Imagination, however, is a pervasive feature of personal life and it is this, not art, that needs to be given its due. The arts are really leisure pursuits and they will arise incidentally from a developed imagination; but they are not to be held up as the only measure of creative enterprise.

'..... In terms of education it is vital that each human being is helped both to develop his or her own imagination and to feel confidence in it. Neither the development nor the confidence will happen if educationists confine acknowledgement of imagination to the comparatively narrow field of the arts and then judge the quality of imagination according to interest in, appreciation of and skill at either one or all of the arts, comparisons often being made with professional activity'. (Ibid., p42-3).

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that in saying so, Way said rather more than he meant to. In an earlier part of the book he has spoken about the development of inner resources as compared with academic education and argued that:

'..... Talking about the arts, learning and studying in order to appreciate the work of professional artists is one important aspect of this process, but not the most important; actual practising of the arts, at one's own level, builds firmer foundations, even for appreciation ..... in education the arts ..... are concerned with the development of intuition, which is no less important than intellect and is part of the essence of

full enrichment of life both for those who have intellectual gifts and those who have not'. (Ibid.p4)

The equation between the arts and intellectual and emotional growth was never satisfactorily worked out in the book, but it did mark an important development in the general philosophy of drama. Not only was drama to do with emotions, it had little to do with intellect. Not only was drama different from theatre, there was reason to doubt that it had much to do with the arts, as they were generally construed.

(28) The authors of Teaching Drama were two young teachers working in Bolton. The book owes much to Peter Slade in its acceptance of Child Drama as a distinct art form only contingently related to adult theatre. It is a largely practical book detailing specific activities to be used with children and suggesting an organised framework of activities to be drawn on year by year and provided a useful series of starting points for the teacher. Inevitably perhaps it came to be used at times as a manual. David Clegg commented to me that he sometimes went into drama lessons to find teachers with the book open on the desk at marked sections calling out instructions verbatim. According to Pemberton-Billing and Clegg drama is a creative medium through which the child can learn to express and evaluate his ideas:

'..... By this process, vague impressions are brought into sharp focus, puzzling impressions are understood, fragmentary ones are completed and alarming ones faced so that fear is overcome'. (Pemberton Billing and Clegg: 1965,p17)

In his introduction to the book Stanley Evernden claims that:

'..... In areas and schools where drama has had a fair trial, it has appeared that the subject has in fact helped children to become articulate and self-reliant, more at peace with themselves and better adjusted to society'. (Ibid.,p7)

There is an interesting conservatism here. Slade saw drama helping out with 'social graces' and now Pemberton-Billing and Clegg and Evernden see drama helping children to adjust to

society. In a way which is never made clear, this will apparently happen through children being encouraged to ask questions and express themselves.

(29) It was probably under the influence of the Method that drama teachers first began asking children to be trees; a popular caricature which still persists. Writing in the *Journal of the S.T.S.D.* in 1959, Robert Hudson reviewed the relevance of the method to drama teaching-with some sensitivity to this:

'..... Improvisation, one of the most frequently used methods of "The Method" may take a number of forms. The attempted representation of natural objects is one and thus the spectacle of grown-up actors impersonating an oak tree, lion or hen, has provided critics with valuable ammunition. But is this so ridiculous? ..... Why should poets have found the tree a suitable object with which to compare homo sapiens when they wished to indicate that he had possessed (strength and spirit)?' (Ibid., Vol. 8, No. 2, January 1959)

John Elsom (1976) gives a useful account of the influence of new theatre forms and rehearsal techniques on British theatre of the 1950's and 1960's. As he notes, some of the severest critics of these were those already established in the theatre.

(30) The newly formed organisation drew up six major programmes of work looking at: the primary curriculum, the curriculum of the early leaver, the sixth form, English teaching, G.C.E. and C.S.E. examinations and the special needs of Wales.

(31) See note 2 above.

(32) For a description of the work of the Advisory Service in Drama, see Day, C. (1975b).

(33) An account of Stabler's work appears in Rosen, C. and Rosen, H. (1973).

(34) See for example, Creber, P.J.W.(1968).



(35) See Siroka, R.W. et al (Eds)(1971).

(36) See especially, Moreno, J.L. (1953). Encounter or 'T' (training) groups encourage the participants to see the world through the eyes of others and so to reevaluate their own perceptions of themselves. Such techniques have now spread well beyond formal encounter sessions and are widely used in personnel training in industry, commerce and so on. Psychodrama is more specific - although some of the techniques are the same - in that it aims to explore and resolve actual personal problems and is intentionally therapeutic. Participants in the psychodrama session are encouraged to re-enact significant events or situations in their lives by adopting the role of the significant 'other' with other members of the group taking on related roles.

(37) A number of books have appeared on the social movements of the sixties which propose a close relationship between the political unrest among students, the explorations in psychedelic drugs, the burgeoning of rock music and the general existential ambience of the nuclear age., e.g. Neville, R. 'Playpower', Paladin (1971); Booker, C. 'The Neophiliacs', Wm Collins (1969); Nuttall, J. 'Bomb Culture', Paladin (1970).

An interesting and detailed account of the development of parapsychology and its battle against mechanist theories in the physical sciences and the natural sciences, is given by John Randall in his book 'Parapsychology and the Nature of Life' (Abacus: 1977). He proposed that current experiments into psi-phenomena may provide the basis for a new field of, what he calls, 'the spiritual sciences', in just the same way that alchemy, once disreputable, paved the way for chemistry, now a cornerstone of empirical sciences.

(38) Unlike the straight performance of plays offered by Children's Theatre Companies, the T.I.E. project set out to use theatre to pursue specific educational objectives.

'..... The aim is to help teachers in the use of drama as a teaching method. The scheme is financed by the City Council, a team of four, two men and two women, who possess both acting and teaching experience, travel to schools in Coventry with three programmes, one for infants, one for juniors and one for secondary students'. (Arts Council of Great Britain: 1966, p18)

Each visit lasted a whole day and short performances were followed by workshop activity and discussion with the actors. The intention was to give children the benefit of working with 'professional' trained actors who also have teaching qualifications. Although other schemes had used actors with children - Esme Church in her work at Bradford and the Young Vic before and after the war had encouraged trainee actors to run workshops with young people and, in Dorset, Leslie Williams, the drama adviser, had also been working with a team of actors along similar lines in 1965 - this was the first scheme to be attached to a funded repertory theatre. Although there were difficult contractual problems to clarify T.I.E. soon began to attract Arts Council subsidy.

(39) The following year, Theatre Quarterly published the Theatre in Education Directory listing fifty separate companies under the headings of Theatre in Education; Community/Young People's Theatre; Young People's Theatre and Children's Theatre. Of these 22 were accredited as specialist T.I.E. companies. (Chapman, C. (Ed) 1975).

(40) See for example Itzin, C., Stages in the Revolution, (1980).

(41) For an account of this debate see, for example, Shaw, R. Elitism versus Populism in the Arts, Published by The City University, London.

(42) See McCaslin, N. (1978).

(43) Inevitably, this brought calls for a revision of the Council's policies. Both the Secretary General of the Council and the present Chairman, have often felt obliged to clarify their own and the Council's position with respect to these

demands - Sir Roy Shaw being especially prolific on the need for compromise (See note 41 above).

One index of this expansion is the rate at which local arts centres were established during the early and middle 1970's. John Lane (1978), in his study of Arts Centres notes that in 1946 there were two - in Bridgwater and Swindon - and by 1978 there were 150. On contemporary trends - and spending - he estimated that by the end of the century there would be an arts centre in every town in the Country. According to Lane this would represent the broadest dissemination of 'cultural benefits' any civilisation has ever known.

(44) John Allen, author of the H.M.I. Report in 1968, was calling, in 1955 for caution and clarity in the claims being made for drama. Recognising the 'considerable claims which are made these days for drama both as an art form and as an educational technique' and, while not wanting to disparage 'drama's growing carillon of successes, whether it be in the production of a school play or a therapeutic triumph', he none the less wondered:

'..... whether there is not more ardour than reason in the assertion that dramatic activity can heal the sick, cast out demons and lead man towards the noblest realisation of himself'. (In, Burton, E.J.: 1955, p7)

(45) Such comments appeared with increasing regularity in the Bulletin of the Society of Teachers of Speech and Drama during the 1950's and 1960's.

(46) John Hodgson, author of Improvisation published in 1966, was asked to review the Sladeian-influenced Teaching Drama, written by Pemberton-Billing and Clegg, and published in 1965. He found the book filled with 'sweeping generalisation ..... about adult theatre and acting'. Although 'among all their brash, rather gushing style, there is truth and some hints at deeper thinking', the book was still misleading,

'..... theatre and educational drama are regarded as antitheses. Assumptions about audiences are made - these seem not to have any value even while curtains and spotlights are assumed to have educational value always. These distortions lead me to believe that they have never bothered to consider seriously the work of Stanislavsky, or Brecht, Peter Brook or Joan Littlewood'. (Journal of the S.T.S.D.: Vol. 15, No. 2, Spring 1966, p28)

(47) He was not alone in doubting the precepts of improvisation. Peter Chilver, writing himself on improvised drama in 1967, criticised those who saw this as the only valid form of drama in schools. He also questioned the assumption that children must always be emotionally involved in the drama before it has any educational significance. Many writers, he observed,

'..... go so far as to say that it is only by this means that the performer ..... can come to terms with his own self and ultimately hope to lead a basically happy and secure life. The evidence such writers refer to is rather dubious'. (Chilver, P.: 1967, p11)

(48) Such criticisms have continued ever since and have been fuelled, for example, by the publication of Neville Bennet's research at Lancaster into Teaching Styles and Pupil Progress (1976), popularly interpreted as a confirmation of the efficacy of 'traditional teaching'.

(49) For an analysis of this trend see, for example, Hall, S. (1979).

(50) Speech by Lord Crowther-Hunt, Minister of State for Higher Education, D.E.S. Conference on cuts in expenditure in Higher Education, organised by the North East London Polytechnic and the Times Higher Education Supplement. Quoted in the Times Educational Supplement, 16 May 1975.

(51) These comments were widely reported in the press shortly after the Conservative Government's return to power in 1979.

Some employers also want the schools to review priorities. Their mood was well expressed in Education and Employment, published in 1979 by the Association of Chambers of Commerce. No responsible education policy, said the report, can ignore the need to equip school leavers with the qualifications necessary to obtain employment. It went on:

'..... The school system has to teach skills essential for modern life. If it fails, school leavers will be condemned to unemployment or at best to unsatisfactory employment. This will have serious repercussions on our society. Deprived of sufficient skills, British business will fail to defeat overseas competition and unemployment will continue to rise.' (Ibid., p2)

(52) The size of the year group fell from 876,000 in 1964 to 586,000 in 1976: a reduction of 33%. This will result in a drop in the secondary school population of nearly 10% by 1986 (D.E.S.: 1978b).

It was announced in the House of Commons on 20 March 1975 that teacher training capacity, outside the Universities, would have to be reduced to about 60,000 places in response to falling rolls. As a result about 30 colleges were expected to give up teacher training altogether. (See D.E.S. Reports on Education: No. 82, March 1975).

## CHAPTER TWO

- (1) See, for example: Gordon, P. and Lawton, D. (1978).
- (2) This argument is developed in detail by R.S. Peters in, for example, Ethics and Education (1966) and in 'Education as Initiation', in Archambault, R.D. (1965).
- (3) Although the Education Act itself did not propose these three types of school, they were recommended in the Spens Report of 1938 (as academic, technical and general) and referred to in the Norwood Report of 1943, both of which had considerable influence on the framing of the White Paper which preceded the Act of 1944.

(4) To those who argued that this was an extrinsic aim in itself, the egalitarians could at least argue that it was of a more humanitarian, benign and democratic sort than the open social engineering of former times.

(5) Individualism of this sort has a long tradition. For 300 years, mainstream Western philosophy and scientific methods have taken the distinguishing characteristics of human intelligence to be those of logical and discursive reason. The rich flowering of scientific investigation from the late 16th and early 17th centuries - powerfully stimulated by the seminal work of Copernicus, Keppler, Galileo and Newton - displaced the most profound social and cultural assumptions concerning the sources of knowledge and of the cosmic significance of mankind. The shift from Ptolemaic cosmology to the astronomy of Copernicus - from an earth-bound to a helio-centric universe - was an intellectual elan. It represented a dramatic transition from, in Michael Polanyi's phrase, 'a crude anthropocentrism of our senses' (Polanyi: 1969, p5), to a reliance on interpretative, reasoned and inquisitive theory.

(6) Bacon, F. (1889).

(7) Mill, J.S. (1970).

(8) Descartes, R. (1912).

(9) To talk of the scientific method is of course misleading. Virulent methodological and theoretical disputes within scientific communities have been a crucial dynamic in their rate of advance. Moreover, empirical methods and the assumptions which underpin them are inherently problematic. Michael Polanyi and Susanne Langer have provided important critiques of the major difficulties and we will need to consider some of these in due course. For all that, it would be hard to overestimate the influence of rational and empiricist attitudes, sceptical and positivist, on both the ethical and material landscape of the social and physical world since the 17th century.

If the early speculations of Copernicus and Galileo raised doubts about aspects of religious teaching - though they denied the atheistic accusations of their critics - the intellectual earthquake of evolutionary theory, to which scientific methods of enquiry led, was to damage the entire structure of religious understanding. Historically, this and the related tendency to see personal feelings and intuitions as irrelevant to, and perhaps disruptive of, the formulation of reliable knowledge, has had profound consequences for the arts.

(10) Watson, J.B. (1930); Skinner, B.F. (1953); Pavlov, I.P. (1927). Interestingly, the meaning of the term 'psychology', literally the study of the 'soul' is now generally used to mean the study of the 'mind'.

(11) Indeed, for Peters, to say as much is tautological. For:

'..... if we say something very general such as that the aim of education is the development of desirable states of mind in people, this is like saying that the aim of reform is to make men better'. (Peters: 1966, p14)

(12) The notion of knowledge as object, existing independently of persons and into which individuals are initiated and to which they can contribute according to its own impersonal laws, has become the dominant paradigm of scientific and philosophic enquiry. Bertrand Russell puts it succinctly when, in speaking of the processes of logical analysis he describes 'scientific truthfulness' as:

'..... the habit of basing our beliefs upon observations and inferences as impersonal and as much divested of local and temperamental bias as is possible for human beings'. (Russell: 1961, p789)

(13) The Romantic movement may have given rise to the principles of child-centredness in education, but theoretical support has since come from many quarters of course, not the least of which have been the investigations of developmental psychologists - Piaget most eminently - with their suggested natural phases of personal growth among children.

(14) It is commonly said that the literal meaning of 'education' is 'to draw out', from the Latin word educō. 'Education' derives from educō-are, however, a first conjugation verb meaning to 'bring up' or 'educate'. The more common word for drawing out is educō-ere which gives the English noun 'education'.

(15) These are not internally co-ordinated and theoretically consistent schools of thought. They represent groups of ideological assumptions. Peters' rationalist views certainly conflict, as he sees it, with the basic theoretical gestures of behaviourism. The basis of the rational paradigm is ideological, however, not theoretical and is not disrupted by these differences. It relates to underlying assumptions - in this case intellectualist and objectivist - about the nature of knowledge, its formulation and relation to individuals. It does not suggest, nor does it depend upon, a theoretical homophily between the various systems of thought resting on these assumptions.

(16) The disenchantment with progressivism discussed in Chapter One derives partly from a recognition of this. Such transformations in educational style are, at root, inimical to the direct handing on and maintenance of cultural values and social structures. This has important political implications especially for a state-supported system. In the atmosphere of educational accountability - marked by a restatement of extrinsic aims - progressive teachers are questioned, not because they do not do well what they set out to do, but because what they are trying to do is not universally accepted to be appropriate to a state system of schooling.

(17) Certainly drama was valued as an enactive technique in other lessons, but the emphasis in its use was on the direct transmission of cultural values:

'..... I tried to insist on the boys learning to stand well, move well and speak the verse well. Shakespeare could be relied upon to do the rest and the boys had learnt something worth learning'. (See Chapter One:3)



(18) Dr Burt played a leading part in persuading the Hadow Committee of 1926 and the Spens Committee of 1938 that children's innate abilities could be accurately established through intelligence testing. Although there was some hostility to Burt's ideas within the Spens Committee, his views prevailed with the majority. An account of the internal debates of the committee appears in Simon, J. (1977).

(19) Ralph Tyler played an important part in establishing the 'objectives model' of curriculum planning and evaluation. His seminal paper, published in America in 1949, Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction (University of Chicago Press) is partly given in Hamilton, D et al (Eds), 1977, pp29-34.

(20) William Thackeray hints at part of this in the introduction to his Book of Snobs where he notes that:

'..... Numberless instances might be adduced to show that when a nation is in great want, the relief is at hand: just as in the Pantomime (that microcosm) where, when Clown wants anything - a warming-pan, a pump handle, a goose, or a lady's tippet - a fellow comes sauntering out from behind the side-scenes with the very article in question'. (Thackeray: 1912, p2)

This is often what happens with theory.

(21) For a useful discussion of the concept of ideology see On Ideology, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (1978).

(22) As Karl Popper comments:

'..... Any of our many commonsense assumptions - our commonsense background knowledge, as it may be called - from which we start can be challenged and criticised at any time; often such an assumption is successfully criticised and rejected (for example, the theory that the earth is flat). In such a case, common sense is either modified by the correction, or it is transcended and replaced by a theory which may appear to some people for a shorter or longer period of time as being more or less 'crazy'. If such a theory needs

much training to be understood, it may even fail for ever to be absorbed by common sense. Yet even then we can demand that we try to get as close as possible to the ideal: all science, and all philosophy, are enlightened common sense'. (1972: pp33-34)

(23) As Friere notes:

'..... An historical epoch is characterised by a series of aspirations, concerns, and values in search of fulfilment; by ways of being and behaving; by more or less generalised attitudes. The concrete representations of many of these aspirations, concerns and values, as well as the obstacles to their fulfilment, constitute the themes of that epoch, which in turn indicate tasks to be carried out'. (Friere: 1976, p5)

(24) A detailed discussion of this debate appears in Simon, B. (1978).

(25)'..... That they were called 'intelligence' tests necessarily upheld two interdependent assumptions: that 'intelligence' is to be equated with facility in following academic studies of a particular kind, and that academic studies of a particular kind are essential to minister properly to the intelligent'. (Simon: 1978, p10)

(26) There is, accordingly an enormous amount written about the psychology of emotional disturbance but relatively little on the positive functions of the emotions.

(27) Seen in this way:

'..... man cannot be anything else but a complex of things, of its, and the processes that ultimately comprise an organism are its processes'. (Laing: 1965, p22)

(28) Some theoretical support for these divisions seems to come from publications such as Bloom's Taxonomies of Educational Objectives, the one dealing with objectives in the 'cognitive' (1956) domain and the other in the 'affective' (1964).

(29) Rationalists such as Paul Hirst, it should be noted, do of course see a place for the arts as one of the basic forms of knowledge. There are two important qualifications to this, however. The first is that Hirst sees the teacher inducting

or initiating children into bodies of knowledge and their appropriate skills of discourse. This is rather different from the expressive functions which teachers in the child-centred tradition would want to see fulfilled. The second is that Hirst stands squarely in the liberal position of intrinsic aims. For him the whole curriculum should be abstracted from vocational and market pressures. As it happens of course the curriculum is not abstracted from these pressures and this makes some difference to what actually happens in schools.

(30) This point is developed in Chapter Nine.

(31) The concept of individualism, in other words, is normative. It represents a shift from education being seen as a way of producing the people society needs - the social engineering model - to encouraging the kind that educationalists would like to see more of.

Although naturalists might claim just to be drawing out what is there in the child, they are often quite explicit about what they expect to find. This is strikingly illustrated by Peter Slade's re-assurance to teachers who fear an anti-social backlash from self-expression. In drama, he says:

'..... the individual has to make decisions about morals. By making situations conscious, the child is able to look at life as an observer and make slow inward decisions. It is greatly to the credit of Young People that when they have to face truth in this way, as long as they are unhurried, they nearly always choose the right set of values and behave accordingly'. (Slade, P : 1954, p64, My underlining)

The dilemma of causing children to express unacceptable ideas is thus only temporary. In the process they will discharge themselves of unpalatable attitudes, without the teacher having to arbitrate in matters of good taste.

The 1919 report on the teaching of English (see Chapter One) was equally clear that only goodness would come of encouraging individuality. Interestingly, the emphasis then was much

more on 'team spirit' and on individuals pulling together; a kind of corporate individualism. By the time we get to Slade and subsequent writers this has been replaced by a sort of general matiness.

(32) If E.J. Burton and others were sceptical about this attitude (see Chapter One), Richard Courtney, Burton's colleague at Trent Park, was not:

'..... Dramatic education', he declared 'is at the basis of all education that is child-centred. It is the way in which the life process develops and without it man is merely one of the upper primates'. (1968, p57)

(33) This does not of course show any one individual's priorities, so much as those of the sample as a whole.

(34) Pemberton-Billing and Clegg also saw drama as a way of producing well-adjusted, sociable people. The distinguishing feature of drama is that children put themselves in the shoes of other people. The purpose of this is to sensitize them to other points of view. The value for this is clear, they say.

'..... How much offence is given, how many strikes are caused not through maliciousness but through an inability to imagine not only how the other person feels but also the possible consequences of the contemplated action?' (1965, p23)

(35) This tendency was commented on by members of the Schools Council Working Party on the Whole Curriculum during discussions I had with them. An illustration comes from the submissions of the various Arts Inspectorates of the I.L.E.A. The Art Inspectorate said of art for example:

'..... The unique characteristic of art particularly is that creative work in the discipline depends only to a very limited extent on the prior acquisition of knowledge. For this reason alone it is an immensely valuable curriculum subject ..... experience in this discipline will help the individual to discriminate between more material values and those which offer lasting satisfaction'.

The intention of this could hardly be clearer - to describe 'the unique characteristic of art particularly'. Yet, a number of words - including drama - could be substituted for 'art' here without interrupting the sense.

The drama submission states that the 'distinctive contribution' of this 'subject' to education is that:

'..... a class works together as a class on decisions made by pupils in response to a live situation. It is concerned with the personal development of children: development of self-awareness, group awareness: differing from other subjects in that it is non-written communication'.

But this could just as easily be music, dance, art, discussion, movement or geography. (Both of these statements are taken from duplicated submissions to the Schools Council). A more concerted attempt to lay down the distinctive contributions of drama to education was made in a report to the Scottish Education Department in 1977. This listed the aims of educational drama as:

- ' - to develop and guide the child's natural play as a means of learning
- to deepen the child's understanding of self and of others
- to foster the ability to communicate with others
- to extend the range of imaginative experience
- to provide a means of coming to terms with and learning to cope with experiences and situations which the child may encounter as he grows up
- to provide the satisfactions that come from joining with others in the practice of drama as an art'.

(Scottish Education Department: 1977a, p2)

The report points out that all of these objectives, except the last one, may apply to the school as a whole, but 'only educational drama embraces them all'. In fact dance, P.E. and English teaching may be said to embrace them all 'except the last one'. And all that the last one really says is that in educational drama, children do drama. Where does that leave us?

(36) Does it, for example, imply a value in close co-operation between professional theatre workers and schools? Bert Parnoby, during his 1970's survey of Actors in Schools (D.E.S. 1976), found a good deal of discord between actor/teachers and drama teachers, particularly over questions of demarcation. If drama teachers wondered what T.I.E. could do that they weren't doing already, T.I.E. team members for their part were anxious not to be associated too closely with the work of school drama departments. For Parnoby, the common ground between drama teaching and theatre had never been fully explored. Indeed, it had become instead, 'a no-man's land covered by snipers on both sides' (Parnoby, B.: 1975, p11).

(37) Studies in the development of speech and in the functions of the written and spoken languages have become increasingly available to English teachers, notably through a series of Schools Council Projects and through the National Association for the Teaching of English. The Bullock Report (D.E.S.:1975b) in its recommendations for a policy of language across the curriculum, saw a particular role for drama activities.

The report states that:

'..... Drama has an obvious and substantial contribution to make to the development of children's language ..... quite apart from its other qualities, it is improvisation involving the complicated relationship between the written and spoken word which seems to us to have particular value for language development'.  
(Chapter 10: Oral Language, paras 10.31 and 10.33)

English teaching was one of the six initial programmes of work which the Schools Council set itself. The Council funded enquiries into, for example, The Development of Writing Abilities 11-18, directed by James Britton at the University of London Institute of Education, Speaking and Listening under Andrew Wilkinson at the University of Birmingham, and a Review of Post-War Research and Experiments in Teaching Methods in English by Pat D'Arcy. From these have grown major projects on, for example, Language in Use, under Peter Doughty at

University College and into English for Immigrant Children under June Derrick and based at Leeds. The rationale behind the Council's English Programme is laid out in Schools Council Working Paper 3: A Programme for Research and Development in English Teaching, H.M.S.O., 1965.

(38) The moralistic undertones of this attitude are brought straight to the surface by G.B. Siks, an American contemporary of Slade, when she forthrightly states that:

'..... Drama deals with the emotions. The real purpose of emotion is to guide and inspire right conduct ..... In creative dramatics, children's emotions are exercised when they become both good and evil characters. In doing so they release emotions in a healthy way'. (1958, p33)

The Newsom Report of 1963 also talks of children in drama lessons 'playing out psychologically significant situations in order to come to terms with themselves' (Ministry of Education: 1963, Part Two, Para 479).

(39) The 1919 Report on the Teaching of English gives an early indication of this when it notes in passing that:

'..... it has been found that boys or girls usually regarded as stupid and incapable of learning have exhibited unsuspected abilities in acting and have gained new interest in themselves and in their possibilities'. (Board of Education: 1919, p316)

(40) Government for Northern Ireland Ministry of Education, Provision for Primary Schools, Belfast, H.M.S.O. 1956, p34 quoted in Wilks, B. (1972) p24.

(41) The Conference was organised by the Cultural Committee of the Treaty of Brussels Powers (Belgium, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands and the U.K.) and was reported by Maisie Cobby, Drama Inspector with I.L.E.A. in the Journal of the Society of Teachers of Speech and Drama, Vol. 2, No. 1 July 1952, p14.

(42) These suggestions were made in the edition of the S.T.S.D. Journal for January 1958 by Kenneth Stanley, Drama Adviser for

Wiltshire, p15. They were made originally to the Standing Conference of Drama Associations at a Conference on 21 September 1957.

(43) We must qualify this point about 'doing'. It has become a homily among some teachers to say that 'drama means doing'. Quoting the Greek verb drao, the point they are often making is that in drama lessons children should be up and moving about rather than sitting talking. There are serious shortcomings with this perpetual motion view of drama. They are to do with valuing overt physical activity and the release of energy at the expense of covert, personal actions of feeling and thought. I will return to this issue in looking at the notion of self-expression in Chapter Six.

(44) For many teachers, the result was a sense of aimlessness and trepidation when faced with groups of children in the classroom. It is the contention of some Drama Advisers and Inspectors, though there are no figures to support or deny it, that this professional insecurity, resulting from poorly directed practical courses, led to a high drop-out rate among drama students in their first year of teaching.

Some attempts to tighten the structure of initial courses have been made in the changeover to all graduate training. The inherent danger is that the resulting academic bias of the courses will work against, rather than in favour of, the promotion and improvement of practical skills.

### CHAPTER THREE

(1) Reid, L.A., (1980), Chapter Four: 'Thoughts in Process'.

(2) By aims, I mean the teacher's general philosophical direction and sense of educational principle. By objectives, I mean the direction given to particular courses of work. And by intentions I mean the specific plans for each working session with a class.



(3) I am suggesting this only as a strategy for drama. The clarification of other curriculum areas may call for different strategies.

(4) In practice, of course, this is often not the case. Aims and objectives are often not related sufficiently closely to the schools and groups in hand. It is precisely this failure to be specific in framing aims and objectives which I will argue creates many of the difficulties in assessment and evaluation and in developing drama in the curriculum as a whole.

This is not to say that evaluation of lessons or of curricula should be dominated by the cross checking of aims and outcomes. On the contrary, the so-called objectives model is wholly antipathetic to the effective assessment and evaluation of drama and other arts activities. Teaching is a reflexive process in which initial aims may be totally revised in the light of the children's actual responses during a lesson. The processes of evaluation must be responsive to this. (See Chapter Seven)

(5) Functions and aims may coincide, but not necessarily. The function of a surgeon's activities in performing an appendectomy is to remove an appendix. The surgeon's aims in doing it may be to relieve suffering, advance his career, make money or whatever. The patient will have a different aim in having it done. The appendix, having no mind of its own and no values, will not have any aims either; although presumably it once had a function.

(6) This point has been well made by the members of the London Writing Research Unit in their report, for the Schools Council, on The Development of Writing Abilities 11-18. (Britton, J. et al: 1975)

The project set itself the task of constructing a model of the functions of language, answering the question, 'Why are you writing?' The team had considerable difficulty, in the early

stages of the work, in limiting the interpretation of this question, so that a workable scheme of analysis might emerge:

'.....'Intention', 'purpose', 'effect' and other such terms wove in and out of our discussions. A writer's intention, we saw, may be highly personal, unique, and sometimes hidden: he may, moreover, fail in his intention so that 'effect' and 'intention' are out of joint, and there will be cases where all trace of intention has been lost. Again, a piece of writing may create a different effect upon each of its readers, and some of these may be idiosyncratic and little related to the writer's intentions. Moreover ..... the effect upon a reader may be a chain of outcomes, and who is to say where the analysis is to stop?' (Ibid., p75).

(7) Each of these headings is given some discussion in the document. Some surprising comments are made. On 'dramatisation', for example, the Committee says:

'..... Dramatisation provides an opportunity for all pupils in a group to be involved in a creative activity ..... To young people who are lacking in imagination or in the confidence to volunteer their own ideas, the support of an already structured narrative may be valuable ..... The real value of dramatisation is that it further illumines the original material. It is often better therefore to select material which is not ..... of outstanding literary merit where the change in medium may detract from rather than enhance the experience'.

(Scottish Education Department: 1977a, p13)

Are any children lacking in imagination? And on what possible grounds can giving children second-rate material to work with be justified? Because coming to understand it will detract from the original? What does this mean?

(8) Self, D. (Op cit) suggests, for example, that teachers should never use the work 'acting' with children but rely on the words 'being' and 'doing'.

(9) As in 'hi-jack drama' or 'hostages drama'.

(10) I will develop this point in detail in Chapter Five and Chapter Six.

(11) John Hodgson and Earnest Richards contend that improvisation is the central activity of drama. (See Chapter One)

But improvisation is not an activity in itself. It is a mode of activity; a way in which activities are conducted. Almost any activity may be improvised - singing, music-making, car maintenance. Certainly a good deal of dramatic activity in schools is improvised. But then a good deal is not. Does this mean it is not drama? And what in any case is this activity - improvised or otherwise? Improvisation may be an important mode of doing drama in schools. But whatever else it is, it is not - in any descriptive sense at least - the central activity.

(12) Grotowski and his group set themselves the task of:

'..... seeking to define what is distinctively theatre, what separates this activity from other categories of performance and spectacle'. (1975,p10)

He comments that:

'..... By gradually eliminating whatever proved superfluous, we found that theatre can exist without make-up, without autonomic costume and scenography, without a separate performance area (stage), without lighting and sound effects, etc. It cannot exist without the actor/spectator relationship of perceptual 'live' communion ..... The essential concern is finding the proper spectator/actor relationship for each type of performance, embodying the decision in physical arrangements'. (Ibid., pp19-20)

(13) There is not always an actual audience to a person's dramatising. Piaget (1972) has drawn attention to the ego-centric play of young children and this may include early forms of role-play. With the development of an identity-for-others, the audience to one's actions is commonly not present but imagined or anticipated - and no less influential for that (See Chapter Six : 13 on the 'sense of audience'). In soliloquising in theatre, of course, there is an actual audience.

CHAPTER FOUR

(1) Among theorists with especial interests in 'role', R.D. Laing (1965), for example, has examined the ways in which individuals' mutual demands and expectations interact to affect their sense of personal identity. Berger and Luckman (1971) have analysed the processes through which social institutions are maintained and reified in the transactions of personal roles, and the implications of these processes for the notion of social reality. Alfred Schutz (1967, 1972), Edmund Husserl (1958), George Kelly (1963), A.N. Whitehead (1927), William James (1890) and Michael Polanyi (1969) represent a corpus of theoretical analyses which, although markedly different in many respects, commonly posit the individual's existence in 'multiple realities' and the transaction of these realities in and through a broad register of actual and imagined roles. G.H. Mead (1934) and Martin Buber (1937) provide analyses of the development of personal consciousness through a dialectic between the 'self' and the 'Other': between I and thou.

I will want to draw from each of these as we go on.

(2) This is true of all the work listed above.

(3) The conventions of theatrical performances have often been used as a metaphor for daily life. The Theatrum Mundi of 'All the World's a Stage' has been elaborately extended by, for example, Erving Goffman (1971), who draws this metaphor across the whole pattern of social behaviour. For Goffman, the theatre is not so much a 'mirror to nature' as its direct analogue. Tempting as this metaphor may seem, I want here to look at some essential differences between these different sorts of role as a way, eventually, of considering, not so much the correspondence, as the interplay between them.

(4) See for example Schutz (1972) where he elaborates a distinction between 'course of action' and 'personal' types in the context of social roles.

(5) This changing of roles according to context is not only true of individuals. As Gurvitch notes:

'..... It is incontestable that both at different moments or phases of its existence, and even in different relationships, each (social) class can play roles which are far from identical. The same class, the same party, the same trade union, the same occupational group etc, can shift from the left to the right, play at one time a revolutionary role, at another a conservative role or yet again a progressive role in informal politics, and a reactionary one in external politics (c.... British Trade Unions) and so on'. (1973, p73)

(6) For an analysis of this process see, for example, Piaget, J. (1959).

(7) Vygotsky (1962) has argued that the egocentric speech of the young child does not disappear as the child becomes socialised. Instead it becomes internalised as inner speech: a continuous dialogue between the self and others, conducted within the general flow of private consciousness.

Harold Rosen (1980) observes that dramatic play also 'dwindles' at about the same time as egocentric speech and suggests that Vygotsky's argument therefore needs to be extended to take account of the internalised role-playing which increases as external dramatic play fades.

(8) See, for example, Laing, R.D. (1965).

(9) Moreover, some roles have no function other than to represent the social order, while others take on this function in addition to other routine duties.

'..... The judge for instance may on occasion in some particularly important case represent the total integration of society in this way. The monarch does so all the time and indeed in a constitutional monarchy may have no other function than as a 'living symbol' ..... Historically, roles that symbolically represent the total institutional order have been most commonly located in political and religious institutions'. (Berger and Luckman: 1971, p94)

CHAPTER FIVE

(1) See, for example, Piaget, J. (1972) and Winnicott, D.W. (1974).

(2) As Spiegelberg (1971) notes, there is no organised school of phenomenology. The term connotes a number of highly individual philosophers whose work does not form a coherent system of any sort. Neither is there any standard or agreed definition of the term 'phenomenology'. The term suggests a concern with penetrating the constitutive processes of knowing and understanding experience. It is this concern, and the development of a number of common themes related to it, that loosely identifies phenomenologists as a group.

(3) Langer revised her use of this term following Charles Morris's (1946) use of the word 'signal' in the same sense. The advantage she sees in this is that it leaves the word 'sign' as a generic term to denote any 'vehicle of meaning' (Langer: 1951, pvi).

(4) Schutz illustrates this first with the perception of physical objects in the outer world.

'..... if we apperceive an object of the outer world then that which we really see in our visual perception is merely the frontside of the object. But this perception of the visible frontside of the object involves an apperception by analogy of the unseen backside ..... This anticipation is based on our past experiences of normal objects of this kind .... we may say that the frontside which is apperceived in immediacy or given to us in presentation, appresents the unseen backside in an analogical way ..... the appresenting term, that which is present in immediate apperception, is coupled or paired with the appresented term..... Thus by appresentation we experience intuitively something as indicating or depicting significantly something else'. (1967, p295-6).

(5) The appresented object or event,

'..... may be either a physical event, fact or object which, however, is not perceivable to the subject in immediacy or something spiritual or immaterial: it

may be real in the sense of common sense reality, or a fantasm; it may be simultaneous with the apprehending one, or precede, or follow it, or it may even be timeless'. (Schutz: 1967, p297)

(6) For a discussion of the development of this concept, first introduced into modern philosophy by Husserl's teacher Franz Brentano, see for example, Pivcevic, E. (1970) and Spiegelberg, H. (1971).

(7) Some forms of intense depression can be caused, for example, by chemical or hormonal imbalances in the body. The recognition of this has led to the increasing use of, for example, Lithium in the treatment of depression. (See Johnson, J.M. (Ed) Lithium Research and Therapy, Academic Press, 1975)

(8) The passage goes on:

'..... Not only the vocabulary but also the morphology and the syntax of any vernacular reflects the socially approved relevance system of the linguistic group. If, for example, the Arabian language has several hundred nouns for denoting various kinds of camels but none for the general concept "camel"; if in certain North American Indian languages the simple notion, "I see a man", cannot be expressed without indicating by prefixes, suffixes and interfixes whether this man stands, or sits, or walks;..... if the Greek language has developed morphological particularities such as the dual number, the optative mood, the aorist tense and the medium voice of the verb ..... then all these facts reveal the relative natural conception of the world approved by the respective linguistic groups'. (Schutz: 1967, p349)

(9) Personal consciousness, as James Britton puts it,

'..... is like the little dog with the brass band: it is for ever running ahead or dropping back or trotting alongside while the procession of events moves steadily on'. (Britton: 1971, p207)

(10) This lies behind Langer's observation that:

'..... The formulation of experience which is contained within the intellectual horizon of an age or society is determined not so much by events and desires as by the basic concepts at people's disposal for analysing and

describing their adventures to their own understanding. A new idea is a light that illuminates presences which simply had no form for us before the light fell on them. We turn the light here, there and everywhere the limits of thought recede before it'.  
(Langer: 1951, pp17-19)

(11) There are permutations of these two main forms. Langer (1951) eventually writes, for example, of the symbolism of poetry and of music as 'non-discursive discourse', a notion to which we will return in Chapter Six.

(12) Although rationalist epistemologies recognise the existence of different forms of knowledge, Hirst (1969) for example lists some nine, the limitation of such approaches derives from their positing all such forms as products of one mode of rationality - the discursive - and treating as peripheral all experiences and ideas which cannot be pressed into that mould. Moreover, they posit a static, perfected view of knowledge which is at odds with the dialectical and evolutionary view of knowledge presented here.

(13) For as he wrote in A Discourse on Method:

'..... The long chain of simple and easy reasonings by which geometers are accustomed to reach the conclusion of their most difficult demonstrations ..... led me to imagine that all things to the knowledge of which man is competent, are mutually connected in the same way'. (1912, p16)

The non-verifiable and the non-discursive are thus seen as the flotsam of an undisciplined intellect and an obstacle to knowledge. Peter Abbs, in his review of the interaction of the Rationalist and Empiricist traditions, quotes Hume's flat injunction that:

'..... If we take in our hand any volume of divinity or school metaphysics, for instance, let us ask, does it contain any abstract reasoning concerning quantity or number? No. Does it contain any experimental reasoning concerning matter of fact and existence? No. Commit it then to the flames for it can contain nothing but sophistry and illusion!'  
(Abbs, P.; 1979, p10)



For a discussion of some of the implications of such assumptions for Descartes's system and for a comparison of these with the basic assumptions of other systems, especially those of Hobbes and of Marx, see Blum, A.F. (1971).

(14) It is interesting, as Laing notes, that:

'..... one frequently encounters "merely" before subjective whereas it is almost inconceivable to speak of anyone as being "merely" objective'.  
(1965, p25)

(15) This is, still, one of the great myths of our time. Science is the largely unquestioned source of authoritative knowledge in the modern world. Moreover, as J.W. Carey notes:

'..... Scientific myths enjoy the claim of being factually true even if they are in no way demonstrable, even if they must be taken on faith, even if they attempt to answer what are, after all, unanswerable questions. Scientific myths have the great advantage in this self-conscious society of not appearing as myths at all but as truths, verified by the inscrutable methods of the scientist'.  
(The Antioch Review, XXVII: 1967, p38 quoted in Shepherd, J. et al, 1977, p30). c.f. Introduction, note 13.

(16) These are not necessarily scientific interests and motives. Brian Davies indicates the complexity of this when he notes in his survey of sociological theory:

'..... How I come to be writing this book is explicable in terms of the laws of biology and physics, my motives and intentions (not to mention personality, need-dispositions, etc), the politics and economics of university departments (experienced as the requirements of job and role), the operations of formal and informal networks of academic publishing and so on, and so on. Getting to write a book, as with getting to post a letter, getting married, lost or educated, involves complex sets of activities, carried on by individuals within a culture which are at one and the same time massively patterned and reported, while uniquely experienced and individually malleable'. (Davies, B : 1976, pp19-20)

(17) This takes us close to our earlier distinction (see Chapter Three) between the intended and the effective func-

tions of actions. Weber (1957) describes the subjective meaning of an action as its intended meaning. Its effective meanings we can say are related to its effects on others - its effective functions - which can only be determined retrospectively and within matrices of inter-personal judgement. These points will be of some importance later in looking at questions of assessment and evaluation. For a detailed discussion of 'subjectivity' and 'objectivity' in relation to Weber's work see Schutz (1972).

(18) The objectivity of Newtonian physics, for example, has never been much in doubt. But the radical proposals of Einstein's Relativity Theories certainly cast considerable doubts on its 'truth'.

(19) For a useful discussion in relation to this see, for example, Kuhn, T.S., The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (1970).

(20) Certainly the popular image of the scientist as coldly objective is matched by that of the gaunt artist living in the hot grip of a fevered imagination. Artists and scientists alike are prone to subscribe to these myths themselves.

(21) These remarks are taken from draft material submitted by Professor Aspin to the report on The Arts in Schools: Principles, Practice and Provision, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1981.

(22) The process by which new intellectual disciplines emerge is accordingly one of 'mutation and metamorphosis' in which existing 'subjects' are re-grouped and other subjects take shape from them, 'as geophysics takes shape from a new relation of geography and physics'. It is in these times of re-grouping and synthesis when, as Whitehead might say, the disposition of problems is changed (see Chapter Two), 'that the great genius, with his colossal simplifying vision gets his best chance to emerge'. (Frye: 1970, p5)

Frye goes on to wonder:

'..... if anyone of Freud's stature could emerge from psychology now: there might be a feeling that he was an armchair theorist who had not served enough time in laboratory routine to be a proper professional psychologist. The Freuds of the future are more likely to emerge, as Freud himself did, from a point of mutation at which psychology begins to turn into something unrecognizable to its scholarly establishment. But these mutations occur from within existing disciplines at a certain stage in their inner development: they cannot be planned or even directly encouraged from the outside'. (Ibid., p5)

(23) As Friere puts it:

'..... To be human is to engage in relationships with others and with the world. It is to experience that world as an objective reality, independent of oneself, capable of being known ..... man's separateness from and openness to the world distinguishes him as a being of relationships. Men, unlike animals, are not only in the world but with the world'. (1976, p3)

(24) The output of modern science for example is so vast that any individual, as Polanyi (1969) notes, can properly understand only a small section of it. Individual mathematicians can usually deal competently with only a small part of mathematics.

'..... It is a rare mathematician, we are told, who fully understands more than half a dozen out of fifty papers presented to a mathematical congress. "The very language in which the others are presented goes clear over the head of the man who follows the six reports nearest his own speciality".

Adding to this my own experience in chemistry and physics it seems to me that the situation may be similar for all major scientific provinces, so that any single scientist may be competent to judge at first hand only about one-hundredth of the total current output of science'. (Polanyi: 1969, p216)

Polanyi's quotation is from Bell, E.T. Mathematics: Queen and Servant of Science, London, 1952, p7.

(25) As Levitas argues:

'..... there is always a division of labour in society no matter how elementary. This results in some area of knowledge or some particular skill

remaining outside the competence of every single member. This is so though all members of a society have meanings in common. For the sharing of meanings is contained in the division of labour whereby each can work for others and be worked for by them'. (Levitas: 1974, pp10-11)

## CHAPTER SIX

### (1) Nicholas Wright comments:

'..... If you ever see an uncut version of Look Back in Anger or Entertaining Mr Sloane, you will be staggered by the sheer length of the piece: an index of how theatre time has shrunk in fifteen or twenty years. Today the maximum length of an act of a modern play seems to be about an hour'. (Op Cit, p179)

(2) There are exceptions to this, notably the radio play where there is no visible stage. Here the events of the drama are experienced 'imaginally' by the audience, as in hearing a novel read aloud (c.f. Chapter Seven, note 19). The function of the stage in theatre is to limit the perceptual field and to focus the audience's attention. With radio plays the perceptual field is inevitably narrowed, and a range of technical conventions must be used to evoke the imaginal experience of the play's events. In film and television the perceptual field is focussed by the technical forms of the media. In each of these cases, however, the need applies to control the drama in the other ways which Wright describes.

(3) Thoughtless attempts to make theatre more 'real' by shaking it out of its spatial limits, can, as Wright notes:

'..... render the actions incomprehensible, arrogantly mysterious or absurd. (Those troops of spear-carriers marching down the aisles past the ice-cream cartons.)' (Ibid., p95)

(4) This point was often made by Brecht:

'..... The field has to be defined in historically relative terms. In other words, we must drop our

habit of taking the different social structures of past periods, then stripping them of everything which makes them different so that they all look more or less like our own, which then acquires from this process a certain air of having been there all along, in other words of permanence pure and simple. Instead, we must leave them their distinguishing marks and keep their impermanence always before our eyes, so that our own period can be seen to be impermanent too'. (1949, p190)

(5) These conventions are not inflexible, of course. Ironies, contradictions and, of course, humour in the play are often created by the controlled breaking of established conventions. When this happens:

'..... we are as delighted as when Ilya Nastase throws his racquet at the umpire: at the end of Tartuffe, for example, when the unavoidable consequences of the action are ironically reversed, or Kragler's demolition of the scenery in Brecht's Drums in the Night. But the success of these effects rests on our pleasure in seeing conventions smashed'. (Ibid., p97)

I once heard of an extreme case of this when a travelling theatre group, in the pioneering days of the American West, were touring a version of Othello. The climax of the show came earlier than usual when a member of the audience, tuning in to how things were going for Desdemona and sensing the need for a firm hand, shot Iago in the third act. This is rare. Except in some examples of 'participatory theatre' where the conventions are constantly shifting - and perhaps this just took the idea of participatory theatre to a natural conclusion - there is no actual interaction between the actors as themselves and the audience.

(6) Unlike paintings or sculptures, drama, dance and music do not exist as objects. They have a material existence but it is evanescent. They occur not as objects but as objectivations through various media. These do, of course, cause disturbances in the physical world. But, unlike paintings or sculpture, they only exist as drama, dance or music in the process of being objectivated. At the conclusion of the process

there is no drama or dance or music left to look at.

(7) Drama is not unique in this respect of course, though this is an important characteristic. For a further qualifying note on this see also Chapter Eight : 4.7.

(8) For a critique of Heathcote's notion of the universal, specifically in relation to her use of Brecht's theories, see Wright, N. (1980).

(9) For detailed analyses of the various uses of "expression" see, for example, Reid, L.A. (1931) and Tormey, A. (1971).

(10) Tormey goes on:

'..... There may be jealousy without jealous behaviour, of course, just as there may be ships without masts: but this does not mean that the behaviour when present is not a proper and logical constituent of the jealousy, any more than it means that masts, when present, are not proper parts of the ship'. (Op Cit., pp48-49)

(11) Berger and Luckman assert that the fact that we can reconstruct:

'..... from an artifact the subjective intentions of men whose society may have been extinct for millenia is eloquent proof of the enduring power of human objectivations'. (1971 , p50)

We might add that it is equally a proof of the enduring and reciprocal power of our own subjectivations of them.

(12) Much use is now made of the French word 'animateur' to describe the role of the community artists. I am using 'animator' in the literal sense. I dislike the word 'animateur'. Its implications of injecting life into barren communities strike me as paternalistic.

(13) The activities of initiator are also communicative. The difference here is that there is a separate audience who are not involved in composing the drama, even though they are centrally involved in other ways.

(14) This process is not just an open house of course. It is mediated by their experience of the world, by the demands and rigours of the text itself and by the influence of culturally evolved forms of interpretation and expression. (C.f. Chapter Eight : 8.2)

(15) Harding (1937) distinguishes between spectator and participant role activity in daily life and gives the example of crowds gathering to watch men on a work-site. We noted earlier (Chapter Three) an important difference between such activities and those of theatre. The activities of theatre are put on, unlike those of the work-site, intentionally for an audience; the audience's participation in the event is a critical element in its taking place at all.

Dorothy Heathcote has elaborated this point to take in other activities where there are those who do and those who watch. She gives the particular example of religious ceremonies, which lie somewhere between these two. As she says:

'..... The Priest who appears to lead his congregation in worship will still go on with the service even if there is no-one in the Church. At least, we assume so. (Heathcote: 1980b, p177)

Finally there is in theatre the deliberate and recognised element of role-play and of make-believe which marks it off from these other examples of spectator role activity.

(16) Such symbols are connotative without being denotative. A sunset does not mean melancholy or sublimity in quite the same way as a swastika means fascism or a word means a thing.

(17) The systemic nature of language is illustrated, for example, by Polanyi who asks what would result if we wanted to, replace each different sentence in the English language by a different word, so that this code would cover what the sentence asserts. We must first envisage, he says, that from an alphabet of 23 letters we could construct  $23^8$  eight-letter words, i.e. about 100,000,000,000:

'..... This millionfold enrichment of the English language would completely destroy it, not only because nobody could remember so many words but for the important reason that many would be meaningless. For the meaning of a word is formed and manifested by its repeated usage and the vast majority of our eight-letter words would be used only once or, at any rate, too rarely to acquire an express and definite meaning'. (Polanyi: 1969, p78)

The systematic nature of linguistic symbolism is also illustrated by the fact that we do not always need to look up a word in a dictionary to understand its meaning. This is often clear to us by its position in a sentence; by its general grammatical context.

(18) There is also the influence of tradition and of culturally-evolved forms. (See Chapter Eight : 8:2)

## CHAPTER SEVEN

(1) There is variance among professional evaluators in the use of the terms 'evaluation' and 'assessment'. For a useful summary of the background to current approaches and terminology see, for example, Rowntree (1977), and Hamilton (1976).

(2) MacDonald, B. Who's Afraid of Evaluation (Centre for Applied Research in Education, University of East Anglia), Mimeo, undated.

(3) Tyler's paper, Basic Principle of Curriculum and Instruction is reprinted in Hamilton et al (1977) Beyond the Numbers Game. The page references given here refer to that edition.

(4) Bloom published two Taxonomies of Educational Objectives. Handbook I: The Cognitive Domain was followed several years later by Handbook II: The Affective Domain. (See bibliography)

(5) According to Tyler, it is important, in devising the evaluation instruments, to determine:



'..... to what degree two different persons ..... would be able to reach similar scores or summaries when they had an opportunity to score or summarise the same records of behaviour. If the scores or summaries vary markedly ..... it is clearly a subjective kind of appraisal and requires improvements in its objectivity, in order to be a more satisfactory means of appraising a human behaviour'. (In Hamilton et al, (Eds): 1977, pp29-34)

- (6) Elliott develops this point by arguing that, from this perspective:

'..... Only "the things produced", rather than the activities of "producing", can count as outcomes. There is little room in the systems model for viewing the outcomes of education as dynamic actions, rather than static end-states. In other words, the theory discounts the student as an active agent in his own learning. Instead, his is viewed as a passive object who can be made, given the correct "treatment", into the desired product'. (Elliott, J.: 1977, pp3-4)

- (7) '..... Responsive evaluation responds to the wide range of questions asked about an innovation and is not trapped inside the intentions of the programme builders. Holistic evaluation seeks to portray an educational programme in its entirety. Illuminative evaluation seeks to open out an educational situation to intelligent criticism and appraisal'. (Hamilton, D : Op Cit, p39)

- (8) '..... Essentially these approaches have replaced the behavioural psychologist's psychometric perspective by one that owes much more to the participant/observation tradition in sociology'. (Ibid., p39)

- (9) The proliferation of curriculum development projects during the 1960's (see Chapter One : 4:5) had to provide for , the evaluation of the new curriculum materials and ways of teaching, as part of their work. Partly because of this, evaluation itself has now developed into a specialist discipline in education. One of the effects of this has been that 'non-specialists' are apt to lose confidence when trying to evaluate their own work, because of an assumption that, somewhere, there must exist accurate, scientific procedures and

that, without these, any evaluation is simply unproved personal opinion, inconclusive and impressionistic. In fact, much of what is written about evaluation reflects deep-seated conflicts over principles and methods. As Parlett and Hamilton have noted, the developing field of educational evaluation, so far, has simply no 'coherent or agreed frames of reference'. (1977, p6)

(10) The process of personal judgement is essentially one of discrimination - recognising responses and experiences of being of this or that type, or as belonging to this or that category. Polanyi comments for example that:

'..... Chemistry alleges that the millions of different compounds are composed of a smaller number - about a hundred - of persistent and identical chemical elements. Since each element has a name and a characteristic symbol attached to it, we can write down the composition of any compound in terms of the elements it contains ..... to classify things in terms of features for which we have names, as we do in talking about things, requires the same kind of connoisseurship as the naturalist must have for identifying specimens of plants or animals. Thus the art of speaking precisely, by applying a rich vocabulary exactly, resembles the delicate discrimination practised by the expert taxonomist'. (Op Cit, p81)

Equally, the mere delineation of categories for judging the experience of drama is a hollow exercise in itself. It requires, for its practical usefulness, the expert application of judgement by the teachers concerned.

(11) A brief account of these four components of drama is also given in McGregor, L., Tate, M. and Robinson, K. (1977).

(12) As Kelly puts it:

'..... One does not ask to be seen in a role he cannot handle and does not elaborate a role he is not ready to play'. (Kelly: 1963, p131)

(13) Perhaps, as Krech et al note :

'..... the most generally valid statement that can be made about the nature and functions of groups is that all groups serve to meet the power wants of some of the members and the belongingness wants of most of its members'. (Op Cit.,p394).

It is important to recognise that a class of children as a whole is neither a social nor a psychological group, from the children's point of view. It is an imposed grouping, arranged without their consent. It cannot be assumed, therefore, as a class, to have any shared purposes. Psychological groupings form within the class, and it is in respect of these that drama teachers need to exercise particular skill and judgement.

Teachers often ask the class to divide into groups of their own choice (see all lesson examples in Appendix Two). Where the class is new, this can be a difficult choice to make. Where relationships are well-established, there may be no choice at all. The teacher can easily lose control, at this point, of the most crucial aspect of the lesson: how the groups will work together and the levels of exploration to which they will incline themselves.

(14) An account of the sequence of lessons from which this example is taken is given in Robinson, K. (1980), Chapter One.

(15) In searching for appropriate subject-matter the teacher must also be concerned with finding points of connection with the group's own experience (See Chapter Six). As Bolton has shown, this may involve approaching the group's declared interests in an oblique way so as to open up more profitable lines of enquiry. He describes this technique in some detail in Bolton, (1979 ) Chapter Eight.

(16) It may be that the process of exploration is stalled or interrupted by the problems inherent in finding or developing a suitable dramatic form. This seemed to be the case for the group in Crossroads, working on the idea of the Chinese puzzle. (See Appendix Two)

(17) As O'Neill comments, periodicity is not the essence of rhythm. It is, rather, a functional involvement of successive events.

(18) C.f. the definition of 'process' discussed in Chapter Five.

(19) These elements are not unique to drama. They apply also to the novel, for example. There are important differences, however, in the ways in which they are experienced in these two cases. The reader experiences the events of a novel 'in the mind's eye' - as what Reid (1931) would call 'imaginal' experience. This visualisation is private, solitary and unique to that reader who is also free to stop reading and to rove forwards or backwards through the text as he/she pleases. A drama exists as action in time. It is presented to an audience as a shared experience and is vividly present as direct perceptual experience - visually, orally and spatially. Once begun, in normal circumstances, the process moves forward to its conclusion under the performers' control and sense of timing (But see Chapter Six : 3). Although the elements of form in drama and the novel are shared, the experience of them is different. There is, of course, an interesting middle case in the rehearsed reading of a play or of a novel or story. Here one of the main media of drama - the voice - is used to evoke the events of the narrative, imaginally, thus requiring roles of both reader and audience (c.f. Chapter Six, Note 2). For a discussion of the permutations of dramatic forms, see Chilver, P. (1976).

(20) By skill I mean a developed ability in a particular activity. Technique refers to the way in which the skill is practised or applied.

(21) The 1949 Working Party of the Ministry of Education argued forcibly that, although all children may experience some satisfaction in expressing ideas through drama, there reaches a point where they want to create effects at will rather than at random or through happy accident.

(22) The roles of the teacher in this are discussed more fully in Chapter Eight.

(23) Polanyi continues:

'..... Subsidiary awareness and focal awareness are mutually exclusive. If a pianist shifts his attention from the piece he is playing to the observation of what he is doing with his fingers while playing it, he gets confused and may have to stop. This happens generally if we switch our focal attention to particulars of which we had previously been aware only in their subsidiary role'. (Op cit, p56)

(24) The following lesson began a sequence of work, from a suggestion made by the group, on children in industry. (See Appendix Two)

(25) E.M. Forster has commented of this:

'..... What about the creative state? In it a man is taken out of himself. He lets down, as it were, a bucket into his subconscious and draws up something which is normally beyond his reach. He mixes this thing with his normal experience and out of the mixture he makes a work of art ..... Such seems to be the creative process. It may employ much technical ingenuity and worldly knowledge, it may profit by critical standards, but mixed up with it is this stuff from the bucket which is not procurable on demand'. (Forster, E.M.: 1974, p121)

(26) These notes are taken from a personal correspondence.

(27) As Collinson (1973) notes, the concept of art is also in some respects wider than that of the aesthetic, in that not all our dealings with art are aesthetic dealings.

(28) As Esland notes, there is no coherent school of epistemologists. He uses the term, as I have used others, to identify an ideological grouping - one sharing the same or similar assumptions. c.f. Note 2, Chapter Five, on phenomenology.

(29) In an unpublished manuscript in which they discuss the problems of constructing models of improvised drama, David

Clegg and Paul Chamberlain refer to this as 'the drama teaching trap'.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

(1) Bridges' (1976) consideration of the logical features of discussion includes some illuminating comments on the process of group work and has proved useful in approaching this part of the analysis.

(2) Those involved may prove of course to be unaffected by each other's points of view. The condition, as Bridges (Op cit) argues, is that they be so disposed.

(3) Gilham, G. (1974) 'Condercum School Report' for Newcastle Upon Tyne Local Education Authority (unpublished). Quoted in Bolton, G. (1979, p51).

(4) Intervening in the children's work is distinguishable from participating in it. The teacher is in a different relationship to the group than exists between its members. He/she may stop the work, re-focus it, introduce new turns, with more sureness and authority than individuals in the group. Although all members influence the work by participating, and so may the teacher, he/she can influence it more profoundly through control and intervention. This dialectic between intervention and non-intervention is central and problematic in all teaching.

(5) Gavin Bolton provides a useful summary of the main features and forms of dramatic exercise (1979: Chapters One and Six).

(6) For a clear analysis of the working processes of small groups see, for example, Barnes, D. (1976).

(7) The teacher in Essence Machine also takes great care to establish and clarify the conventions of the work, as in the sequence when the visitor is to come and he explains that 'I can press a button .....' etc.

(8) The following is an example of this taken from Learning Through Drama, (McGregor, L., Tate, M., Robinson, K : 1977, pp59-60).

The teacher concerned wanted the class 'to take responsibility for the drama'. The pupils were asked to sit in a semi-circle in the drama studio. The teacher went to the back of the studio, adjusting the lighting so that it fell mainly on a chair facing the class. He then put on a black gown and sat in the chair. The group watched him. After several moments of looking sternly at them he asked:

'Why are you here? What do you want from me?'

The pupils sat and watched. He asked,

'What are you waiting for? Some of you know what this is all about.'

The group smiled at him and at each other - some giggled. One or two suggested, after he had persisted with his questions, that he might as well leave. In due course he was asked:

'Who are you?'; 'What do you do?'; 'Are you the Messiah?'

The teacher had determined, however, that all information should be supplied by the class and did not answer. In discussion at the end of the lesson, it was revealed that many of the pupils thought he was 'just kidding about' and could not understand why he would not answer any questions or what the point of it had been.

In our present terms, the teacher had been operating at the symbolic level - the group had remained in real roles throughout. They did not understand the conventions which the

teacher assumed, nor did he make them clear. Because they had not agreed on the nature of the task in which they were supposed to engage, the actions of the teacher, in one sense of reality, were meaningless to the group who watched him from another.

(9) Pemberton-Billing and Clegg make precisely this point. Children dramatise without help, in their own play:

'..... experimenting with life and death through Cowboys and Indians and experiencing power by becoming 'king of the castle' ..... The drama teachers' job is to discipline and direct the child's play into channels where he needs to make worthwhile decisions and discoveries ..... Drama then becomes a positive educational force, not merely a useful but haphazard way of learning'.  
(1965, pp21-22)

(10) As Bolton notes, the choice of symbol is crucial in that it must 'hold as many levels of meaning as possible' (1979, p86).

He gives an example of a sequence of work with John Fines and Ray Verrier (see Bibliography) with 10-11 year olds. The chosen topic was the Dust Bowl of 1930's America. For the farmers forced to leave their homes, California, on the far side of the Rocky Mountains, was the promised land. The children had, in their drama, experienced packing up and leaving home and then crossing the Rockies.

'..... The elements of the next stage of the experience had to include arriving in a land of plenty; an abundance that they were not allowed to share; being rejected and humiliated. What would say both 'This is California' and 'Keep off'? As I mused on this in the school lunch-hour John Fines suggested, 'Why not try an orange?'

With their eyes closed they listened to my narration of the dawn: 'They had struggled through many trials; the physical hardships had been such many thought they would never make it but this morning their trucks were parked on gentler slopes and in the near distance the early sun shone on the green lushness of California. Open your eyes and make your descent'. What they met was a Californian (teacher in role) standing on a rock (chair) to peer at them as they made their approach



(across the space of the school hall). He had an orange in his hand. 'What you folks doing trespassing? Don't you know this is private property?' The class were ready to play the drama game with enthusiasm, but when the Californian started to eat his orange, dropping the peel at their feet, it suddenly wasn't a game: it was an insult. (What better illustration could you have of the necessary dialectic between the concrete and the abstract than this - the very smell of the orange meant both olfactory stimulation and injustice).

Their immediate reaction was the one to be expected from ten-year-olds who feel insulted, and they shouted their abuse. But their intelligence worked after a time; they withdrew and planned a new approach, an apologetic one. In fact they verbally grovelled to the Californian farmer, who listened to them (as he ate his second orange) and then said, 'I'm glad you Okies have had the decency to apologise. Now go back to where you came from.'

They were astonished and angry. I became teacher again and they told me in no uncertain terms what they felt about my inhumanity. John Fines stepped in at this point saying, 'And that was how it was.' He then filled them in with further historical data, for which, not surprisingly, they were avid'. (Ibid., pp86-7).

(11) As Brecht puts it:

'..... the great and complicated things that go on in the world cannot be adequately recognised by people who do not use every possible aid to understanding'. (1957, p73)

For an illuminating account of the use of texts and source material in approaching drama and vice versa, see Fines, J. and Verrier, R., (1974).

(12) Taken out of context the word 'right' has an odd ring here. In context it is clear that the teacher means right for the children's purposes - that is, 'appropriate'.

(13) In certain cases, of course, emotional states are caused by physiological changes or disturbances, as in some forms of depression. (C.f. Chapter Five, Note 7)

(14) The rush of adrenalin associated with fear or anger primes the body for vigorous activity to deal with the cause

of the danger or anger. Where the action is not forthcoming, or is suppressed, for whatever reason, we are left with a physical feeling of 'pent-up' anger or energy. This results from the increased hormonal levels in the body which would have been dissipated by the anticipated exertion, but which must now be slowly dispelled. The pent-up feeling persists while this process continues.

(15) I have taken this example from Yarlott, G. (1972).

(16) Many writers on drama in school have recognised this. Some, like Slade, have tended to confuse this with moral training, seeing dramatic activity as a process of catharsis by means of which anti-social tendencies are purged 'in a legal framework' so that children 'reach the right set of values in the end' (See Chapter Two).

(17) Louis Arnaud Reid gives eloquent support of this need:

'..... The neglect of the study of feeling and its place in the whole economy of the mind has been disastrous, both in philosophy and in education. Sensitiveness plays far more part in understanding of many kinds than is generally understood and acknowledged'. (1980, p7)

For a sustained discussion of the relations of reason and emotion see MacMurray, J. (1935).

(18) Williams comments that:

'..... such criticism can range from a process very similar to the 'ideal' analysis, the discovery of 'the best that has been thought and written in the world', through a process which, while interested in tradition, takes as its primary emphasis the particular work being studied (its clarification and valuation bring the principal end in view) to a kind of historical criticism which, after analysis of particular works, seeks to relate them to the particular traditions and societies in which they appeared.' (Op Cit, p57)

(19) These definitions are not, of course, mutually exclusive. It is worth noting, for example, that the view of art as high culture - as the 'ideal' - is a particular characteristic of the British social culture.

(20) Although this is true of the major areas of the culture - science affecting education; education affecting industry, etc. - it is also the case that:

'..... the increasing number and complexity of sub-universes make them increasingly inaccessible to outsiders. They become esoteric enclaves, 'hermetically sealed' ..... to all but those who have been properly initiated into their mysteries ..... the outsiders have to be kept out, sometimes even kept ignorant of the existence of the sub-universe'.

(Berger and Luckman: 1971, pp104-5)

C.f. Chapter Five, Note 24.

(21) Many examples could be cited of this interactive mode of the social culture; the rise of communications technology, for example, and its profound effects on the availability of information and on questions of individual rights; the effects of improved technologies on dramatic forms and the influence on 'epic' theatre of film, graphics and the elevator stage (see Brecht, 1957). More generally, there are the effects on the means of industrial production of micro-technologies and the direct consequences of this for patterns of employment and unemployment and, therefore, on the structures of community life.

(22) It is not, of course, only the younger generations that press for change: so too do others. Sometimes these pressures are moving in the same direction and sometimes not. At all events, although there is an inevitable element of reproduction of values and beliefs from one generation to the next, the process of socialisation is not exclusively one of reproduction.

(23) Our sense of reality is not only a function of social convention. As Lawton (1975) argues, there is an important difference between saying that social factors influence knowledge and that social factors determine knowledge. The fact that we distinguish in our culture between cats and dogs may be due to certain social conditions:

'..... the fact that we can distinguish between them has something to do with cats and dogs'. (Ibid., p65)

Our sense of reality evolves through the dialectic of our experiencing of it and our attempts to interpret this experience within our available frameworks of ideas and values. The social culture, within which these frameworks evolve, thus bears critically on our apperception of the world. (See also Chapter Five : 7 and 8:2:2 and 8:2:3 below)

(24) In so far as knowledge is personal and inter-personal, the ultimate meanings and significance of works of art,

'..... can never be more than the sum of potential judgements of it'. (Bourdieu: 1971a, p173)

(25) Williams (1971) points to the close interaction of artistic form and the social culture. A complete analysis of a work of art, the Antigone of Sophocles, for example, must take into account, therefore, that:

'..... the dramatic form, the metres of the verse, not only have an artistic tradition behind them, the work of many men, but can be seen to have been shaped, not only by the demands of the experience but by the particular social forms through which the dramatic tradition developed'. (1971, p60)

For a detailed discussion of this interaction of dramatic forms and the social culture see, for example, Williams (1971) Chapter 6: 'The Social History of Dramatic Forms'.

(26) Marcuse is of course using 'art' in the evaluative sense.

(27) Although the teacher in drama must begin by closely controlling the group's activity, this will lessen as the group , become more confident and skilled in the process. The teacher's role can thus become less dominant. Moreover, the concept of frame refers to the selection, organisation and pacing of the knowledge received and transmitted. The teacher's role in drama is not primarily that of a transmitter of knowledge at all.

(28) As Bernstein notes:

'..... when this frame is relaxed to include everyday realities, it is often and sometimes validly, not simply for the transmission of education knowledge, but for purposes of social control of forms of deviancy. The weakening of this frame usually occurs with the less 'able' children whom we have given up educating'. (1971, p58).

(29) Some of the implications of this are pursued in Chapter Nine.

(30) This distinction is characteristic of Bantock's (1968) writing on the notion of culture and also of Eliot's (1948). Hirst's (1969) view is apparently a-cultural, positing forms of knowledge which are universal.

(31) Hoggart (1980) argues that the notion of 'cultural deprivation' is a further example of paternalism. There is an assumed need somehow to upgrade the culture of some sections of society. The opposite view is, of course, equally simplistic and romanticised - that all working-class culture is universally good and to be admired.

Thompson (1968) has examined some of the complexities here and in particular the interaction of 'working-class' and 'middle-class' culture. As Lawton (1975) argues, it is now absurd, given this interaction and the influence of the mass media, to equate 'high art' with middle-class culture. Increasingly we need to recognise the shared elements of a common culture.

(32) Although teachers need to take account of children's own cultural values, this does not mean that these alone are what should occupy the work, nor that they should remain unchallenged (See below 8:3:4).

(33) As Williams points out, even specialists in a given period know only part of even its written records:

'..... One can say with confidence, for example, that no-one really knows the nineteenth century

novel: nobody has read, or could have read, all its examples over the whole range from printed volumes to penny serials. The real specialist may know some hundreds ..... (but) a selective process of a quite drastic kind is at once evident and this is true of every field of activity'. (1971, p66)

(34) This is not to argue that all cultures are equally good and there are no relevant differences of value between them: e.g. that Nazi culture is to be respected as highly as any other. It is to recognise that there are differences of value between cultural groups and the need to investigate the criteria by which these might be judged.

(35) Brian Way, Caryl Jenner and John Allen among others had been developing the theory and practice of Children's Theatre during the 1940's. In the 1950's there was that great upheaval in British theatre in general which followed the first run at the Royal Court of Look Back in Anger. The profound cultural and political changes of post-war British society provided the impetus for a new wave of dramatists and directors who found a platform at the Royal Court under George Devine: including Harold Pinter, Shelagh Delaney, John Osborne, Ann Jellicoe, N.F. Simpson and Arnold Wesker. Each of these was concerned, in their own ways, to use theatre not only as a place of entertainment but as a forum for the exchange of ideas.

(36) This quotation is taken from a transcription of the conference edited by E.J. Burton and issued by the Joint Council for Education Through Art in 1959.

(37) From programme note to 'We Come to the River' quoted in Coult, T. (1977, p72).

CHAPTER NINE

(1) In one extreme instance, a teacher told me of the clearing and re-setting of desks taking about ten minutes off either end of the lesson. This left only twenty minutes for the drama activities. In another school, the Hall was designated for drama but was commonly requisitioned by the Head for visiting speakers, examinations and so on. The drama teacher then had to move to any available classroom or to the cloakrooms. The alternative was to drop the lesson altogether and this frequently happened. The use of drama studios for examinations is also common, with the result that the drama timetable can be suspended for long periods throughout the year.

(2) Drama activities require a good deal of concentration. It is common for lessons to be timetabled to halls which are used for school dinners. The usual result is that the clatter of preparations leading up to dinner disrupts the working atmosphere. In other schools, where open-plan halls are used, the children can be inhibited by the passage of other pupils and teachers during lessons.

(3) For a definition of the use of this term in the survey see Appendix One :3.

(4) Provision for dance was not included in the survey. This comment is based on visits to schools. For a detailed survey of national provision for dance, including comments on education, see Gulbenkian Foundation (1980).

(5) Bernstein comments that knowledge under collection code 'is private property with its own power structure and market situation'. The deep structure of the specialised collection code in particular is thus,

'..... strong boundary maintenance creating control from within through the formation of specific identities'. (1971, p56)

(6) Blenkin (1980) has argued that these developments have helped to compound the status of subjects. Many development projects, including some of those sponsored by the Schools Council, implicitly accepted existing categorisations in developing new teaching material. The general consequence has been to enhance the view among practitioners that,

'..... curriculum developments need to occur in fragmented, subject-based areas'. (Blenkin:1980, p63)

She sees this tendency spreading now to teachers of very young children: an understandable trend, she argues, when such teachers,

'..... far from being encouraged to develop their own special understandings, are seen as non-specialists'. (Ibid., p63).

(7) Kirk (1977) has characterised the general pattern of the building of subject empires. Why not, he asks,

'..... heap on drama the familiar trappings of academic respectability: a separate section of the library for drama, a Central Committee for Drama, a Centre for Information on the teaching of drama, 'O' Grade Drama, Higher Grade Drama, Certificate of Sixth Year Studies Drama, Alternative 'O' Grade Drama, The Scottish Association of (Qualified) Drama Teachers, The British Association of Drama Teachers? Drama by that time will have arrived and drama specialists will have established their monopoly.'

This might be good for the career prospects of drama teachers, he adds - and a good many of these measures have since come to pass - but would it be good for the pupils' education? Are drama teachers, he concludes,

'..... in their search for professional identity, in danger of exacerbating an already unsatisfactory situation? Opportunities for drama activities emerge organically from the work of many teachers of other subjects. Are they to bide their time till the drama specialist is free? Or do they refuse to exploit these opportunities altogether for fear of creating a demarcation dispute?' (1977, pp6-7)



(8) It is still rare, for example, for secondary schools to have any direct co-ordination of curriculum policies with their feeder primary schools. In drama this means that many children arrive in the secondary school with little or no experience of drama and the teacher is obliged to start from basics. Children who have had a good deal of drama experience, on the other hand, may find themselves standing still or going backwards. The pupil is the only person who experiences the whole curriculum and the transitions from sector to sector. In place of a continuous development of work to higher levels, this divisiveness can fragment and disrupt that process.

The dysjunction at the transition from secondary to tertiary education was made clear by Richard Hamilton when he said of first year students at art college:

'..... The first aim of our course is a cleaning of the slate: removing pre-conceptions. People come to art school with ready-made ideas about what art is. We have to do some erasure. Then we build up a new set of ideas. (Quoted by Painter: 1980)

This suggests a tragic waste of ten years compulsory education, or a tragic self-importance in the colleges.

(9) Ross comments:

'..... Arts teachers may be more or less hard-pressed than their non-arts colleagues: clearly they are working under some strain and if they have little time or energy left for in-service courses it is scarcely their fault ..... Indeed few teachers are able to find the time to keep abreast of developments in their own field (even though) contact with the contemporary arts or with the living world of the arts of the past would seem to be an indispensable source of personal stimulus and nourishment .... Like any other system, organic, electronic or social, an arts department without effective and vital links with its environment will suffer progressive breakdown. (Ross: 1975, p44)

This lack of contact is partly through lack of time. But there are other antagonisms. Reg Butler put these at their extreme in telling first year students at the Slade College

of Art in London:

'..... The objective of every art student worth the name should be that of becoming a great artist ..... those of you who look forward to becoming art teachers or who hope to enrich your lives between now and marriage do not, in my opinion, deserve the sort of support I have in mind'. (Quoted by Painter: 1980)

(10) See Introduction 2.2 and Chapter Two : 6.2.

(11) As MacDonald (Op Cit) has argued, where Risinghill (see Berg, L : 1968) was seen as an aberration, Tyndale was taken to be an early warning signal.

(12) This has its historical roots, so far as State education is concerned, in the division between the roles of elementary schools, in providing for a literate and numerate workforce, and the classical traditions of the public and grammar schools, in their concern with educating the leaders of society (Gordon and Lawton: 1978).

(13) The development of comprehensive schools has certainly gone some way towards promoting a more egalitarian principle in education. Yet, as Ford (1969) argues, many of these have tended, through various systems of streaming and grading, to run in any case along tripartite lines.

(14) The introduction of the C.S.E. examination, for example, was intended to redress the balance of esteem. In practice, catering as it does for the lower ability groups (see Note 19 below) it has a lower status in the market. The Newsom Report of 1963 added to this; even its title illustrating that,

'..... the needs of this half of our future must be considered in total separation from those of the other half'. (Kelly: 1980, p22)

As Kelly notes, teachers soon began to talk routinely of 'Newsom Children' and of 'Newsom Courses' as if these were a different breed. The Schools Council Working Paper No. 2 on

Raising the School Leaving Age tried to avoid this in talking of the distinctive task of secondary education as being

'..... to help the pupils make the judgements or choices which will determine the use they make of whatever capacities their parents, their schools and the environment have enabled them to develop'.  
(Schools Council: 1965a, para.39)

Equally the Humanities Curriculum Project of the Schools Council among others saw no grounds for distinguishing types of curricula for different 'types' of children. (C.f. Chapter Eight, Notes 31 and 32.)

(15) The fact that classical or academic learning itself bears no obvious relation to economic or industrial skills is simply further evidence of the academic illusion to which we have referred.

The opposite to this instrumental view of education is that education actually has no ends at all beyond itself. Kelly (1980) holds tightly to this liberal principle. Emphasising the intimacy of education with questions of value, he follows R.S. Peters in insisting that,

'..... such value shall be regarded as intrinsic to the activity and shall not be defined by either teacher or pupil in terms of its instrumentality to some extrinsic end or purpose ..... (otherwise) what is occurring may be instruction or training or socialisation but it is not education'. (Kelly: 1980, p8)

This view is not widely held beyond the academic world. I will argue later that both views plainly distort the essential need for balance in the curriculum. At this stage we can note how aptly Illich's criticism of schooling applies to both of these extreme positions:

'..... The power of the school ..... to divide social reality has no boundaries: education becomes unworldly and the world becomes non-educational'. (Illich: 1973, p31)

(16) Blenkin sees three reasons for the persistence of this model in education:

'..... Firstly, there is a remarkable degree of consensus, and therefore plausibility, in the behaviourists' view that objectives need to be formulated and how this should be done. Attention is diverted from uncomfortable and difficult questions of value and from the intangibles in the process of learning, and converges on prespecifying outcomes within already defined skill and content areas. Secondly, their approach works in so far as it provides a tool that can be used in curriculum development. Its seemingly rational, straightforward, scientific style is therefore, attractive to teachers and administrators alike, who had been in the past unsure of the worth of their work ..... Thirdly, ..... it received support from the work of behavioural psychologists, whose influence on education has been quite widespread and far-reaching'. (1980, p56)

(17) As Rowntree puts it:

'..... If we wish to discover the truth about an educational system, we must look into its assessment procedures. What student qualities and achievements are actively valued and rewarded by the system? How are its purposes and intentions realized?' (1977, p1)

(18) This was made clear by H.M. Inspectorate in their survey of secondary schools. The Inspectors commented that:

'..... It was apparent that the style and ultimately the quality of work ..... were dominated by the requirements, actual or perceived of public examinations. Schools are naturally anxious to secure examination qualifications for their pupils. They are also conscious of the degree to which the effectiveness of schools is likely to be measured publicly by examination results. In consequence they tend not only to enter as many pupils as possible for as many examinations as possible; they also tend to adopt teaching approaches which are thought necessary to secure examination success'. (D.E.S : 1979, p262)

(19) '..... G.C.E. 'O' level examinations are designed to cater for candidates between the 100th and 80th percentiles - the top 20% of the whole ability range - and C.S.E. examinations primarily for the 80th to 40th percentile - the next 40% of the whole ability range'. (Waddell: 1978, p2)

The percentile sets out to define, at any point between 0 and 100,

'..... the level at which individuals perform in relation to their group. Thus someone at the 60th percentile has performed better than 60% of his/her peers'. (Ibid., p5)

(20) In one school I visited where a Drama C.S.E. course was being operated, one of the aims of the course was to develop sensitivity. I asked the teacher how he assessed this in the pupils. He told me 'Out of 25'.

(21) The attempts of successive governments to provide some remedial form of work experience for school leavers, through the Manpower Services Commission and the Youth Opportunities Programme, illustrate the long-term problem which this is now recognised to be. Information on these programmes and on current levels of Youth Unemployment in Britain are available from Youthaid Press House, 3 Stamford Street, London SE1 9NT.

(22) The rate of educational cuts has varied since the present Conservative Government came to power. Dr Rhodes Boyson, speaking for the Government in August 1979 and widely reported in the National press at the time, announced an initial cut-back in University places of 6%. This effectively contra-verted the principle of the Robbins Report of higher education as a right to all who were willing and able to go on to it.

(23) This is not entirely true. Children sometimes opt for particular courses because their friends will be taking them rather than out of a special interest of their own. Some children, to judge from visits to schools, also look upon drama as an easy option.

(24) This tendency is further exemplified in the division of educational theory into the compartments of sociology, psychology, philosophy and history.

(25) In recent years there has been a growing recognition of the need to see the curriculum in terms of relationships and

common principles. See, for example, Kelly, V. (1980); Schools Council (1975); Stenhouse, L. (1970 and 1975); Friere, P. 1972, 1976 ); Hamilton, D. et al (1977); Bruner, J.S. (1960 and 1966).

(26) For a discussion of this see, for example: Postman, and Weingartner, C. (1971); Toffler, A. (1970).

(27) A recent study by the English Department of the University of London Institute of Education has drawn attention, for example to the enormous diversity of first and second languages spoken by London school children. This must have a critical bearing on the language teaching policies of the schools concerned and will, to some extent, affect each of them differently. (See Rosen, H. and Burgess, T. (1980)

(28) Clearly schools have a role to play in giving children a perspective on, and an appreciation of, the achievements of the past and in promoting a wide perspective on contemporary themes and issues. There is a strong case to be made for a 'common culture' curriculum and Lawton (1975) puts this forcibly and at some length. But there is, alongside this, a comparable need for schools to be responsive to local and changing circumstances. Different communities - in rural Devon or in the industrial North East for example - offer different opportunities to children and make different demands upon them. Schools with an interest in 'preparation' must take account of that.

(29) A small proportion of the survey schools organised drama as part of an arts faculty (see Appendix One :3.3) and this is a possible growth point. A number of alternative ways of organising drama, including block release and modular time-tabling, are discussed in McGregor, L., Tate, M. and Robinson, K. (1977), Chapter Seven.

(30) As Hogan (1980) notes, much of the information which passes round schools is in the form of memos stuck to notice boards which are never read. These tend to be imperative

notices or information about decisions which have been taken. The fragmentation of the curriculum and of departments intensifies this and produces what Hogan refers to as the phenomenon of 'The Science Department Kettle': each department existing, even socially, as a sealed, self-sufficient unit.

(31) The guidelines issued to teachers by the South-East Regional Examinations Board put this clearly enough, in reference to C.S.E. Drama Syllabuses. In declaring drama as an examinable option for children, the Board says,

'..... you have implicitly stated that you are able to place them in rank order of ability. Everything that enters your scheme must be viewed in its contribution to the making of a valid, reliable order of merit based on evidence that can be shown to the moderator. (S.E.R.E.B.: n.d. , pl)

(32) The three main difficulties presented here are:

- (i) consistency of reports - ensuring some form of compatibility;
- (ii) the possible discouragement of those whose reports are unfavourable;
- (iii) the possibility of controversy between parents and teachers.

One line of development is in involving children in writing their own reports on a long-term basis. Experimental work in this so far shows promising results in terms of pupil motivation and the perceptiveness of records. Two experimental schemes began in Swindon in 1967 and 1973: the Record of Pupil Attainment and Record of Pupil Experience. These provide a framework within which pupils themselves keep a personal record of interests, aptitudes, experience and abilities. All aspects of the schemes are pupil-controlled, including entries in the records. Again there are problems, including the high costs of materials and the difficulties for teachers, both in accepting the basic principle, and in giving help to pupils without restricting their freedom to use the reports in their own way.

Further information on these is available from the Schools Council. For an evaluation of the Swindon Scheme see Swales, T. (1979).

(33) Such tests:

- are designed to be taken as informally as possible whenever children feel ready for them;
- aim to discover whether or not a pupil can perform certain tasks, has particular skills, possesses certain knowledge, without adjusting the results in the light of other pupils' achievements.

The tests progress in difficulty and candidates would be able to enter for them at any age. In principle, children could enter for these throughout their school career, taking different levels in different areas of work, according to their developing interests and abilities. This would disperse the weight of formal assessment and might supply a progressive set of motivations. The criteria for success are set at the beginning and if all children meet them, they all pass. Thus a 100% pass rate is possible, and would be encouraged at all levels. Further information is also available from the Schools Council.

(34) This increasing pressure within the curriculum has been recognised in a number of reports. The Munn Committee on Secondary Education in Scotland commented for example that:

'..... Comparatively new but vitally important activities such as social, health and safety education demand and clearly merit a place in the formal curriculum. Subjects like geology, psychology and sociology, all well-established in the Universities are now urging their claim for inclusion in the school curriculum. The established subjects, on the other hand, are reluctant to yield any more of their present time, on the grounds that new knowledge has accumulated, or that new approaches have been developed which ought to be incorporated in school syllabuses and examinations. Some subjects claim a still larger place in the curricular sun, arguing that they are so important to an understanding of the modern world that they should be compulsory elements



in the curriculum of all pupils'. (Scottish Education Department: 1977b,p13)

(35) Hogan (1977 and 1980) has also pointed out that the professional skills which teachers do have are not commonly drawn on in the internal planning of curricula. What happens, he asks, in the staffroom when central management decisions are made?

'..... Do the subjects contribute anything to these discussions? Does the History teacher say the evidence you've produced is untenable, it's got bias in it? (Hogan: 1980, p4)

(36) Independent schools, often long-established, are the exception to this. Such schools are not so subject to the normative pressures upon State schools and have a long history of innovation and diversity.

(37) A description and short evaluation of this scheme is given in Tomlinson, J. (1980).

(38) There are currently three main forms of direct contact between artists and education.

- (i) Artists in Education: schemes which aim to bring practising artists into schools for specific projects: e.g. the Arts Council's Writers in Schools scheme.
- (ii) Arts Education Companies: professional teams which combine training and experience in both the arts and education and which have a primary commitment to educational projects: e.g. Theatre-in-Education, Dance in Education.
- (iii) Arts/Education Liaison schemes: schemes administered by professional companies which aim to encourage links between the company and schools/colleges, through special performances, concessionary rates, education packs and so on: e.g. Ballet Rambert, English National Opera.

The report of the Gulbenkian Foundation Enquiry into the Arts in Schools (1981) includes a discussion of the principles and practices of these various schemes. See also O'Toole, J. (1976) and Jackson, T. (Ed) (1980) on T.I.E.; and Arts Council Reports (1974, 1977, 1978) on community arts and children's theatre. An account of artists' residencies, in schools and colleges appears in Braden, S. (1978).

(39) See Arts Council (1974).

(40) The growth of the School Proms in London provides a vivid example of the rate of expansion of musical activity in schools throughout the Country. Youth Theatres have also expanded. Michael Croft, Director of the National Youth Theatre of Great Britain, estimates that between 1956, when the N.Y.T. was founded, and 1963, approximately 17 youth theatres were established in Britain. Between 1963 and 1980 the number has risen to about 400. (In an address to Playfest - an international conference organised by the National Council for Theatre for Young People, held at the Shaw Theatre 10-13 July 1980).

(41) Quoted in Tomlinson, (1980,p9)

#### APPENDIX ONE

(1) Classifying schools on this basis was probably the least reliable method. Apart from the vagueness of the categories, there were inevitable inaccuracies in the data. Respondents often had to rely on guesswork and impressions in filling this in. Moreover teachers had the option, and usually took, advantage of it, of indicating a variety of occupations for their area. The classifications were based, therefore, on predominant groupings.

For example, in group one, 14 of the 22 schools indicated that local parents were employed predominantly as semi-skilled workers (63.7%); 11 indicated service or agricultural workers. As all of these schools are comprehensives, however,

one would expect a range of other occupations. In fact 7, 8 and 9 schools also indicated professional, managerial and self-employed respectively.

2 The London Board list includes schools from all parts of the United Kingdom. The majority, however, are in England and Wales. The total numbers of each type of school in England and Wales at January 1973 were:

Comprehensive	1,835	30.9%
Direct Grant	176	3.0%
Grammar	819	13.8%
Technical	43	0.7%
Secondary Modern	1,915	32.2%
Independent	910	15.3%
Others	245	4.1%
	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL	5,943	100.0%

(Source: D.E.S. Statistics of Education: Vol. 1 - Schools, January 1973, H.M.S.O.)

Differences in the provision and organisation of secondary education in Scotland and Northern Ireland do not allow direct comparisons with these figures for England and Wales. The following general totals at January 1973 indicate, however, that the sample is broadly representative:

Public Sector	5,821	82.4%
Assisted	268	3.8%
Independent	978	13.8%
	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL	7,067	100.0%

(Source: D.E.S. Educational Statistics for the United Kingdom: 1973, H.M.S.O.)

N.B. Public Sector	-	Maintained (England and Wales) Education Authority (Scotland) Controlled (Northern Ireland)
Assisted	-	Direct Grant (England and Wales) Grant Aided (Scotland) Voluntary Grammar (Northern Ireland)
Independent	-	Independent

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#### APPENDIX TWO

(1) The film is available for hire from:

The National Audio Visual Aids Library  
Paxton Place  
Gipsy Road  
London SE28 9SR

(2) Sections not shown in the film are in brackets.

(3) There is a short booklet accompanying the film which contains some contextual information on the schools and groups together with the teachers' own comments on the lessons.

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